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THE DIARY  
OF  
SAMUEL PEPYS.

*From October, 1667, to March, 1668.*



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## INTRODUCTION.

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THE period of English history illustrated by Pepys's Diary from October, 1667, to March, 1668, was active with the searching of the Parliament into abuses of the Government and public offices, and its bitter attack upon the fallen Clarendon. The search into corruption was unflinching; day after day, and all day long, the members satisfying Nature only, as Pepys tells us, with an occasional biscuit and glass of wine, committees of the House were inquiring into the miscarriages that led to the disgraceful close of the Dutch war. With corruption everywhere about him—and himself, in a discreet way, accepting gifts of plate and money from men who considered that in his official capacity he had done them, or might do them, a good turn—Pepys stood out as the one man concerned in Admiralty affairs who had done his duty to the public, as one said of him, “of the old way of taking pains.” It was he only who knew what had been done in his office, and in a time of scrutiny that threatened ruin to many of his friends he was able to stand forward and give a just account of his stewardship.



Pepys's Diary shows how anxious a time this was for all Government servants. At the beginning of this volume we find him digging up at night the gold he had hidden underground in his father's garden at Brompton. But he seems to have missed a pot of silver that was found in 1842 when removing the foundations of an old house, always regarded as having been that of the Pepys family; it was an iron pot that was too much corroded to hold longer together, and it contained chiefly half-crowns of the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I. He carries his gold home with fear and trembling, one fear being that the heavy bags will break their way out through the bottom of the coach. Pepys had a streak of timidity in his character, as we find in his account of the night terror produced in him by the noise of a sweep in his neighbour's chimney, that suggested the entrance into his own house (where the gold was) of an army of housebreakers. But this section of his Diary ends with a vindication of himself and his office before the Committee of Miscarriages that proved to the full how strong he was in "the old way of taking pains." It was a critical day. He had been unable to sleep the night before, and got his wife to talk to him and soothe him. At Westminster he found it necessary to screw up his courage with half-a-pint of mulled sack, and then with a dram of brandy. But, thanks to this preparation, and to his complete

knowledge of all the facts on which he was to speak, he spoke for four hours as easily as if at home, fixing attention throughout, and earned praise and honour from the king and parliament alike. For the next nine days his speech was a wonder of the political and social world.

In this part of the Diary (November 16th, 1667) we have, perhaps, the first use of the word Cabinet in literature, as representing the Council of the King, and the preceding word "Cabal" is used (December 21st, 1667) as it had been used in an entry of the 14th of October, 1665, before it could be explained as formed of the initials of Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale.

We shall be sorry to part with Pepys, in whose pages we find much of the actual life that formal history rolls into sentences. But his record is now drawing to a close. Two more of these little volumes will complete the work.

It is contrary to the plan of this Library to give abridgments of books, and if it were not so, it would have been hard to block out any of the light that Pepys throws upon the life of England under Charles the Second.





## PEPYS'S DIARY.

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October 10th, 1667. *Brampton*.—Up, to walk up and down in the garden with my father, to talk of all our concernments: about a husband for my sister, whereof there is at present no appearance; but we must endeavour to find her one now, for she grows old and ugly: then for my brother, and resolve he shall stay here this winter, and then I will either send him to Cambridge for a year, till I get him some church promotion, or send him to sea as a chaplain, where he may study and earn his living. Then walked round about our green, to see whether, in case I cannot buy out my uncle Thomas and his son's right in this house, that I can buy another place as good thereabouts to build on, and I do not see that I can. But this, with new building, may be made an excellent pretty thing, and I resolve to look after it as soon as I can, and Goody Gorum dies. By coach round the town of *Brampton*, to observe any other place as good as ours, and find none; and so back with great pleasure, and thence went all of us, my sister and brother, and W. Hewer, to dinner to *Hinchingbroke*, where we had a good plain country dinner, but most kindly used; and here dined the

minister of Brampton and his wife, who is reported a very good but poor man. Here I spent alone with my lady after dinner the most of the afternoon, and anon the two twins were sent for from school at Mr. Taylor's to come to see me, and I took them into the garden, and there in one of the summer-houses did examine them, and do find them so well advanced in their learning that I am amazed at it: they repeating a whole ode without book out of Horace, and did give me a very good account of anything almost, and did make me very readily very good Latin, and did give me good account of their Greek grammar beyond all possible expectation; and so grave and manly as I never saw, I confess, nor could have believed, so that they will be fit to go to Cambridge in two years at most. They are both little, but very like one another, and well-looking children. Took leave for a great while again, but with extraordinary kindness from my lady, who looks upon me like one of her own family and interest. Thence I walked over the park with Mr. Shepley and through the grove, which is mighty pretty as is imaginable, and so over their drawbridge to Nun's Bridge, and so to my father's, and there sat and drank and talked a little, and then parted. And he being gone, and what company there was, my father and I with a dark lantern, it being now night, into the garden with my wife, and there went about our great work to dig up my gold. But, Lord! what

a toss I was for some time in, that they could not justly tell where it was; that I began heartily to sweat and be angry that they should not agree better upon the place, and at last to fear that it was gone: but by and by, poking with a spit we found it, and then began with a spud to lift up the ground. But, good God! to see how sillily they did it, not half a foot underground, and in the sight of the world from a hundred places, if anybody by accident were near hand, and within sight of a neighbour's window, only my father says that he saw them all gone to church before he began the work, when he laid the money. But I was out of my wits almost, and the more from that, upon my lifting up the earth with the spud, I did discern that I had scattered the pieces of gold round about the ground among the grass and loose earth; and taking up the iron head-pieces wherein they were put, I perceived the earth was got among the gold, and wet, so that the bags were all rotten, and all the notes, that I could not tell what in the world to say to it, not knowing how to judge what was wanting, or what had been lost by Gibson in his coming down, which all put together did make me mad: and at last I was forced to take up the head-pieces, dirt and all, and as many of the scattered pieces as I could with the dirt discern by candle-light, and carry them up into my brother's chamber, and there lock them up till I had eat a little supper, and then, all people going to bed,

W. Hewer and I did all alone, with several pails of water and besoms, at last wash the dirt off the pieces, and parted the pieces and the dirt, and then began to tell them by a note which I had of the value of the whole in my pocket; and do find that there was short above a hundred pieces, which did make me mad; and considering that the neighbour's house was so near that we could not possibly speak one to another in the garden at that place where the gold lay—especially my father being deaf—but they must know what we had been doing. I feared that they might in the night come and gather some pieces and prevent us the next morning; so W. Hewer and I out again about midnight, for it was now grown so late, and there by candle-light did make shift to gather forty-five pieces more. And so in, and to cleanse them: and by this time it was past two in the morning, and so to bed, with my mind pretty quiet to think that I have recovered so many. I lay in the trundle-bed, the girl having gone to bed to my wife, and there lay in some disquiet all night, telling of the clock till it was day-light.

11th. And then W. Hewer and I, with pails and a sieve, did lock ourselves into the garden, and there gather all the earth about the place into pails, and then sift those pails in one of the summer-houses, just as they do for diamonds in other parts of the world; and there to our great content, did by nine o'clock make

the last night I myself up & sent a palanquin so that we are come to about twenty or thirty. I think the true number should be still perhaps within less, and of them I may reasonably think that Mr. Gibson might lose some; so that I am pretty well satisfied that my loss is not great, and that as for this place is so well. So do leave my father to make a second examination of the dirt; and my mind at ease in it, being but an accident; and so gives me some kind of content to remember how painful it is sometimes to keep money, as well as to get it, and how delighted I was to keep it all night, and how to secure it for I then so got all my gold put up in bags. We to breakfast, and about ten o'clock took each my wife and I, and Willett, and W. Hervey, and Marshall and Bowles, whom my lady lent me to go along with me my journey, not telling her the reason, but it was only to secure my gold, and my brother John came along, and with these four I thought myself pretty safe. But before we went out, the Huntingdon music came to me and played, and it was better than that of Cambridge. Here I took leave of my father, and did give my sister 20s. She cried at my going; but whether it was at her unwillingness for my going, or any unkindness of my wife's, or no, I know not; but God forgive me! I take her to be so cunning and ill-natured, that I have no great love for her; but only [she] is my sister and must be provided for. My gold I put into a basket



and sat under one of the seats; and so my work every quarter of an hour was to look to see whether all was well, and I did ride in great fear all the day. Mr. Shepley saw me beyond St. Neots, and there parted, and we straight to Stevenage through Bald Lanes, which are already very bad; and at Stevenage we came well before night, and all sat, and there with great care I got the gold up to my chamber, my wife carrying one bag and the girl another, and W. Hower the rest in a basket, and set it all under a bed in our chamber, and then sat down to talk, and were very pleasant, satisfying myself, among other things, from John Bowles, in some terms of hunting, and about deer, bucks, and does. Brecocke alive still, and the best host I know almost.

12th. Up, and eat our breakfast, and set out about nine o'clock, and so to Barnet, where we baited. By five o'clock got home where I find all well; and did bring my gold to my heart's content very safe, having not this day carried it in a basket, but in our hands; the girl took care of one, and my wife another bag, and I the rest, I being afraid of the bottom of the coach lest it should break. At home we find that Sir W. Batten's body was to-day carried from hence with a hundred or two of coaches to Walthamstow, and there buried. The Parliament met on Thursday last, and adjourned to Monday next. The King did make them a very kind speech, promising them to leave all

to them to do, and call to account what and whom they pleased; and declared by my Lord Keeper how many (thirty-six) acts he had done since he saw them; among others, disbanding the army, and putting all Papists out of employment, and displacing persons that had managed their business ill. The Parliament is mightily pleased with the King's speech, and voted giving him thanks for what he said and hath done; and, among things, would by name thank him for displacing my Lord Chancellor, for which a great many did speak in the House; but it was opposed by some, and particularly Harry Coventry, who got that it should be put to a Committee to consider what particulars to mention in their thanks to the King, saying that it was too soon to give thanks for the displacing of a man, before they knew or had examined what was the cause of his displacing: and so it rested; but this do show that they are and will be very high; and Mr. Pierce do tell me that he fears, and do hear, that it hath been said among them, that they will move for the calling my Lord Sandwich home, to bring him to account, which do trouble me mightily; but I trust it will not be so. Anon comes home Sir W. Pen from the burial; and he says that Lady Batten and her children-in-law are all broke in pieces, and that there is but £800 found in the world of anon; and it is in great doubt what we shall do towards doing ourselves right with them about the prize-money. With Sir W.

Pen to my Lady Batten, whom I had not seen since she was a widow, which she took unkindly, but I did excuse it; and the house being full of company, and of several factions, she against the children, and they against one another and her, I away.

13th. (Lord's day.) To St. James's; and there to the Duke of York's chamber: and there he was dressing; and many Lords and Parliament-men come to kiss his hands, they being newly come to town. And there the Duke of York did of himself call me to him, and tell me that he had spoken to the King, and that the King had granted me the ship I asked for; and did, moreover, say that he was mightily pleased with my service, and that he would be willing to do anything that was in his power for me, which he said with mighty kindness; which I did return him thanks for, and departed with mighty joy, more than I did expect. And so walked over the park to Whitehall, and there met Sir H. Cholmly, who walked with me, and told me most of the news I heard last night of the Parliament; and thinks they will do all things very well, only they will be revenged of my Lord Chancellor; and says, however, that he thinks there will be but two things proved on him; and that one is, that he may have said to the King, and to others, words to breed in the King an ill opinion of the Parliament—that they were factious, and that it was better to dissolve them; and this, he thinks, they will be able to

prove; but what this will amount to he knows not. And next, that he hath taken money for several bargains that have been made with the Crown, and did instance one that is already complained of: but there are so many more involved in it, that, should they unravel things of this sort, everybody almost will be more or less concerned. But these are the two great points which he thinks they will insist on and prove against him. Walked with Sir W. Pen, and told him what the Duke of York told me to-day about the ship I begged; and he was knave enough of his own accord, but, to be sure in order to his own advantage, to offer me to send for the master of the vessel, the *Maybolt Galliot*, and bid him to get her furnished as for a long voyage, and I to take no notice of it, that she might be the more worth to me: so that here is a very knave to the King, and I doubt not his being the same to me on occasion. Eved with W. Hewer for my expenses upon the road this last journey, and do think that the whole journey will cost me little less than £18 or £20 one way or other; but I am well pleased with it.

14th. To Mr. Wren's; and he told me that my business was done about my warrant on the *Maybolt Galliot*; which I did see, and thought it was not so full in the reciting of my services as the other was in that of Sir W. Pen's; yet I was well pleased with it, and do intend to fetch it away anon. With Sir Thomas Allen,

in a little sorry coach that he hath set up of late, and Sir Jeremy Smith, to Whitehall, and there hear that the House is this day again upon the business of giving the King the thanks of the House for his speech, and, among other things, for laying aside of my Lord Chancellor. To visit Sir G. Carteret; and from him do understand that the King himself, but this he told me as a great secret, is satisfied that these thanks which he expects from the House, for the laying aside of my Lord Chancellor, are a thing<sup>r</sup> irregular; but, since it is come into the House, he do think it necessary to carry it on, and will have it, and hath made his mind known to be so to some of the House. But Sir G. Carteret do say he knows nothing of what my Lord Brouncker told us to-day, that the King was angry with the Duke of York yesterday, and advised him not to hinder what he had a mind to have done touching this business, which is news very bad, if true. He tells me also that the King will have the thanks of the House go on: and commends my Lord Keeper's speech for all but what he was forced to say, about the reason of the King's sending away the House so soon the last time when they were met. Walked with Mr. Scowen, who tells me that it is at last carried in the House that the thanks shall<sup>r</sup> be given to the King—among other things, particularly for the removal of my Lord Chancellor; but he tells me that it is a strange act, and that which he thinks would never have been, but

that the King did insist upon it, that, since it come into the House it might not be let fall. To the Duke of York's house, and there went in for nothing into the pit, at the last act, to see Sir Martin Marall, and met my wife, who was there, and my brother, and W. Hewer and Willett, and carried them home, and there do find that John Bowles has not yet come thither. I suppose he is playing the good fellow in the town.

15th. My wife and I, and Willett, to the Duke of York's house, where, after long stay, the King and Duke of York came, and there saw *The Coffee-house*, the most ridiculous insipid play that ever I saw in my life, and glad we were that Betterton had no part in it. But here, before the play begun, my wife began to complain to me of Willett's confidence in sitting cheek-by-jowl by us, which was a poor thing; but I perceive she is already jealous of my kindness to her, so that I begin to fear this girl is not likely to stay long with us.

16th. At home most of the morning with Sir H. Cholmly about some accounts of his; and for news he tells me that the Commons and Lords have concurred, and delivered the King their thanks, among other things, for his removal of the Chancellor; who took their thanks very well, and, among other things, promised them, in these words, never in any degree to give the Chancellor any employment again. And he tells me that it is very true, he hath it from one that was

by, that the King did give the Duke of York a sound reprimand; told him that he had lived with him with more kindness than ever any [other King lived with a brother, and that he lived as much like a monarch as himself, but advised him not cross him in his designs about the Chancellor; in which the Duke of York do very wisely acquiesce, and will be quiet as the King bade him, but presently commands all his friends to be silent in the business of the Chancellor, and they were so: but that the Chancellor had done all that is possible to provoke the King, and to bring himself to lose his head by enraging the people. To Whitehall, where the Duke of York is now newly come for this winter, and there did our usual business with him. To the Duke of York's house; and I was vexed to see Young, who is but a bad actor at best, act Macbeth, in the room of Betterton, who, poor man, is sick: but, Lord! what a prejudice it wrought in me against the whole play, and everybody else agreed in disliking this fellow. Thence home, and there find my wife gone home, because of this fellow's acting of the part, she went out of the house again.

17th. Sent for by my Lady Batten. I to her, and there she found fault with my not seeing her since her being a widow, which I excuse as well as I could, though it is a fault, but it is my nature not to be forward in visits. But here she told me her condition, which is good enough, being sole executrix to the dis-

appointment of all her husband's children, and prayed my friendship about the accounts of the prizes, which I promised her. And here do see what creatures widows are in weeping for their husbands, and then presently leaving off; but I cannot wonder at it, the cares of the world taking place of all other passions. Mr. John Andrews and his wife came and dined with me, and pretty merry we were, only I out of humour the greatest part of the dinner, by reason that my people had forgot to get wine ready, I having none in the house, which I cannot say now these almost three years, I think without having two or three sorts, by which we were fain to stay a great while while some could be fetched. It was an odd, strange thing to observe of Mr. Andrews what a fancy he hath to raw meat, that he eats it with no pleasure unless the blood run about his chops, which it did now by a leg of mutton that was not above half-boiled; but, it seems, at home all his meat is dressed so, and beef and all, and [he] eats it so at nights also. The Parliament ran on mighty furiously, having yesterday being almost all the morning complaining against some high proceedings of my Lord Chief Justice Keeling, that the gentlemen of the country did complain against him in the House, and run very high. It is the man that did fall out with my cousin Roger Pepys once, at the Assizes there, and would have laid him by the heels; but, it seems, a very able lawyer. This afternoon my



Lord Anglesey tells us that the House of Commons have this morning run into the inquiry in many things; as the sale of Dunkirk, the dividing of the fleet the last year, the business of the prizes with my Lord Sandwich, and many other things; so that now they begin to fall close upon it, and God knows what will be the end of it, but a committee they have chosen to inquire into the miscarriages of the war.

18th. To Whitehall, and there attended the Duke of York; but first we find him to spend above an hour in private in his closet with W. Coventry; which I was glad to see that there is so much confidence between them. By-and-by we were called in. The Duke of York considering that the King had a mind for Spragg to command the *Rupert*, which would not be well, by turning out Hubbert, who is a good man, said he did not know whether he did so well conform, as at this time to please the people and Parliament. Sir W. Coventry answered, and the Duke of York merrily agreed to it, that it was very hard to know what it was that the Parliament would call conformity at this time. To several places to buy a hat, and books, and neckcloths, and several errands I did before I got home, and, among others, bought me two new pairs of spectacles of Turlington, who, it seems, is famous for them; and his daughter, he being out of the way, do advise me two very young sights, and that they will help me most, and promises me great ease from them,

and I will try them. I met Creed, and he tells me that Sir Robert Brookes is the man that did mention the business in Parliament yesterday about my Lord Sandwich, but that it was seconded by nobody, but that the matter will come before the Committee for Miscarriages. To the King's house, and saw *Brenorall*, which is a good tragedy.

19th. Full of my desire of seeing my Lord Orrery's new play this afternoon at the King's house, *The Black Prince*, the first time it is acted; where, though we came by two o'clock, yet there was no room in the pit, but were forced to go into one of the upper boxes, at 4s. a-piece, which is the first time I ever sat in a box in my life. And in the same box came, by-and-by, behind me, my Lord Barkeley (of Stratton) and his lady; but I did not turn my face to them to be known, so that I was excused from giving them my seat; and this pleasure I had, that from this place the scenes do appear very fine indeed, and much better than in the pit. The house infinite full, and the King and Duke of York there. By-and-by the play began, and in it nothing particular but a very fine dance for variety of figures, but a little too long. But, as to the contrivance, and all that was witty, which, indeed, was much, and very witty, was almost the same that had been in his two former plays of *Henry V.* and *Mustapha*, and the same points and turns of wit in both, and in this very same play often repeated, but in excellent

language, and were so excellent that the whole house was mightily pleased all along till the reading of a letter, which was so long and so unnecessary that they frequently began to laugh, and to hiss twenty times, that, had it not been for the King's being there, they had certainly hissed it off the stage. But I must confess that, as my Lord Barkeley says behind me, the having of that long letter was a thing so absurd, that he could not imagine how a man of his parts could possibly fall into it; or, if he did, if he had but let any friend read it the friend would have told him of it; and, I must confess, it is one of the most remarkable instances of a wise man's not being wise at all times. After the play done, and nothing pleasing them from the time of the letter to the end of the play, people being put into a bad humour of disliking, which is another thing worth the noting, I home by coach, and could not forbear laughing almost all the way and all the evening to my going to bed, at the ridiculousness of the letter, and the more because my wife was angry with me and the world for laughing, because the King was there.

20th. (Lord's day.) Up, and put on my new tunic of velvet, which is very plain but good. This morning is brought to me an order for the presenting the Committee of Parliament to-morrow with a list of the commanders and ships' names of all the fleets set out since the war, and particularly of those ships which are

divided from the fleet with Prince Rupert; which gives me occasion to see that they are busy after that business, and I am glad of it. This afternoon comes to me Captain O'Bryan, about a ship that the King hath given him; and he and I to talk of the Parliament; and he tells me that the business of the Duke of York's slackening sail in the first fight, at the beginning of the war, is brought into question, and Sir W. Pen and Captain Cox are to appear to-morrow about it; and it is thought will at last be laid upon Mr. Brouncker's giving orders from the Duke of York, which the Duke of York do not own to Captain Cox to do it; but it seems they do resent this very highly, and are mad in going through all business where they can lay any fault. I am glad to hear, that in the world I am as kindly spoken of as anybody; for, for aught I see, there is bloody work like to be. Sir W. Coventry having been forced to produce a letter in Parliament wherein the Duke of Albemarle did from Sheerness write in what good posture all things were at Chatham, and that they were so well placed that he feared no attempt of the enemy: so that, among other things, I do see everybody is upon his own defence, and spares not to blame another to defend himself, and the same course I shall take. But God knows where it will end! Pelling tells me that my Lady Duchess Albemarle was at Mrs. Turner's this afternoon, she being ill, and did there publicly talk of business and of our office; and

that she believed that I was safe and had done well; and so I thank God! I hear everybody speaks of me; and indeed, I think, without vanity, I may expect to be profited rather than injured by this inquiry which the Parliament makes into business.

21st. To Westminster, and up to the lobby, where many commanders of the fleet were, and Captain Cox, and Mr. Pierce the surgeon; the last of whom hath been in the House, and declared that he heard Brouncker advise, and give arguments to Cox, for the safety of the Duke of York's person, to shorten sail, that they might not be in the middle of the enemy in the morning alone; and Cox denying to observe his advice, having received the Duke of York's commands over night to keep within gun-shot, as they then were, of the enemy, Brouncker did go to Harman, and used the same arguments, and told him that he was sure it would be well pleasing to the King that care should be taken of not endangering the Duke of York; and, after much persuasion, Harman was heard to say, "Why, if it must be, then lower the topsail." And so did shorten sail to the loss, as the Parliament will have it, of the greatest victory that ever was, and which would have saved all the expense of blood, and money, and honour, that followed; and this they do resent, so as to put it to the question, whether Brouncker should not be carried to the Tower: who do confess that, out of kindness to the Duke of York's safety, he

did advise that they should do so, but did not use the Duke of York's name therein; and so it was only his error in advising it, but the greatest theirs in taking it contrary to order. At last, it ended that it should be suspended till Harman comes home; and then the Parliament-men do all tell me that it will fall heavy, and, they think, be fatal to Brouncker or him. Sir W. Pen tells me he was gone to bed, having been all day labouring, and then not able to stand of the gout, and did give order for the keeping the sails standing, as they then were, all night. But, which I wonder at, he tells me that he did not know the next day that they had shortened sail, nor ever did inquire into it till about ten days ago, that this began to be mentioned; and, indeed, it is charged privately as a fault on the Duke of York, that he did not presently examine the reason of the breach of his orders and punish it. But Cox tells me that he did finally refuse it; and what prevailed with Harman he knows not, and do think that we might have done considerable service on the enemy the next day if this had not been done. Thus this business ended to-day, having kept them till almost two o'clock; and then I by coach with Sir W. Pen as far as St. Clement's, talking of this matter, and there set down; and I walked to Sir G. Carteret's, and there dined with him and several Parliament-men, who, I perceive, do all look upon it as a thing certain that the Parliament will inquire into everything, and

will be very severe where they can find any fault. Sir W. Coventry, I hear, did this day make a speech, in apology for his reading the letter of the Duke of Albemarle, concerning the good condition which Chatham was in before the enemy came thither: declaring his simple intention therein without prejudice to my lord. And I am told that he was also with the Duke of Albemarle yesterday to excuse it; but this I do hear, by some of Sir W. Coventry's friends, that they think he hath done himself much injury by making this man, and his interest, so much his enemy. After dinner, I away to Westminster, and up to the Parliament House, and there did wait with great patience till seven at night, to be called in to the Committee, who sat all this afternoon examining the business of Chatham; and at last was called in, and told that the least they expected from us, Mr. Wren had promised them, and only bade me to bring all my fellow-officers thither tomorrow afternoon. Sir Robert Brookes in the chair; methinks a sorry fellow to be there, because a young man; and yet he seems to speak very well. I gone thence, my cousin Pepys comes out to me, and walks in the Hall with me, and bids me prepare to answer to everything; for they do seem to lay the business of Chatham upon the Commissioners of the Navy, and they are resolved to lay the fault heavy somewhere, and to punish it: and prays me to prepare to save myself, and gives me hints what to prepare against;

which I am obliged to him for. This day I did get a list of the fourteen particular miscarriages which are already before the Committee to be examined; wherein, besides two or three that will concern this office much, there are those of the prizes, and that of Bergen, and not following the Dutch ships, against my Lord Sandwich; that, I fear, will ruin him, unless he hath very good luck, or they may be in better temper before he can come to be charged: but my heart is full of fear for him and his family. I hear that they do prosecute the business against my Lord Chief Justice Keeling with great severity.

22nd. Slept but ill all the last part of the night, for fear of this day's success in Parliament: therefore up, and all of us all the morning close, till almost two o'clock, collecting all we had to say and had done from the beginning, touching the safety of the River Medway and Chatham. And having done this and put it into order, we away, I not having time to eat my dinner; and so all in my Lord Brouncker's coach, that is to say, Brouncker, W. Pen, T. Hater, and myself, talking of the other great matter with which they charge us, that is, of discharging men by ticket, in order to our defence in case that should be asked. We came to the Parliament door, and there, after a little waiting till the Committee was sat, we were, the House being very full, called in: Sir W. Pen went in and sat as a Member; and my Lord Brouncker would



not at first go in, expecting to have a chair set for him, and his brother had bid him not go in, till he was called for; but, after a few words, I had occasion to mention him, and so he was called in, but without any more chair or respect paid him than myself, and so Brouncker; and T. Hater, and I, were there to answer: and I had a chair brought me to lean my books upon: and so did give them such an account, in a series of the whole business that had passed the Office touching the matter, and so answered all questions given me about it, that I did not perceive but they were fully satisfied with me and the business as to our Office: and then Commissioner Pett (who was by at all my discourse, and this held till within an hour after candle-light, for I had candles brought in to read my papers by) was to answer for himself, we having lodged all matters with him for execution. But, Lord! what a tumultuous thing this Committee is, for all the reputation they have of a great council, is a strange consideration; there being as impertinent questions, and as disorderly proposed, as any man could make. But Commissioner Pett, of all men living, did make the weakest defence for himself: nothing to the purpose, nor to satisfaction, nor certain; but sometimes one thing and sometimes another, sometimes for himself, and sometimes against him; and his greatest failure was, that I observed, from his considering whether the question propounded was his

part to answer or no, and the thing to be done was his work to do: the want of which distinction will overthrow him; for he concerns himself in giving an account of the disposal of the boats, which he had no reason at all to do, or take any blame upon him for them. He charged the not carrying up of *The Charles* upon the Tuesday, to the Duke of Albemarle; but I see the House is mighty favourable to the Duke of Albemarle, and would give little weight to it. And something of want of arms he spoke, which Sir J. Duncomb answered with great imperiousness and earnestness; but, for all that, I do see the House is resolved to be better satisfied in the business of the unreadiness of Sheerness, and want of arms and ammunition there and everywhere: and all their officers were here to-day attending, but only one called in, about arms for boats, to answer Commissioner Pett. None of my brethren said anything but me there: but only two or three silly words my Lord Brouncker gave, in answer to one question about the number of men there were in the King's Yard at the time. At last the House dismissed us, and shortly after did adjourn the debate till Friday next: and my cousin Pepys did come out and joy me in my acquitting myself so well, and so did several others, and my fellow-officers all very brisk to see themselves so well acquitted; which makes me a little proud, but not yet

secure but we may yet meet with a backblow which we see not.

23rd. To Whitehall, there to attend the Duke of York; but came a little too late, and so missed it: only spoke with him, and heard him correct my Lord Barkeley, who fell foul on Sir Edward Spragg, who, it seems, said yesterday to the House, that if the Officers of the Ordnance had done as much work at Sheerness in ten weeks as the *Prince* [Rupert] did in ten days, he could have defended the place against the Dutch: but the Duke of York told him that everybody must have liberty, at this time, to make their own defence, though it be to the charging of the fault upon any other, so it be true; so I perceive the whole world is at work in blaming one another. Thence Sir W. Pen and I back into London; and there saw the King, with his kettle-drums and trumpets, going to the Exchange, to lay the first stone of the first pillar of the new building of the Exchange; which, the gates being shut, I could not get in to see: so with Sir W. Pen to Captain Cocke's, and then again towards Westminster; but in my way stopped at the Exchange and got in, the King being newly gone; and there find the bottom of the first pillar laid. And here was a shed set up, and hung with tapestry, and a canopy of state, and some good victuals and wine, for the King, who, it seems, did it; and so a great many people, as Tom Killigrew, and others of the Court

there. I do find Mr. Gauden in his gown as sheriff, and understand that the King hath this morning knighted him upon the place, which I am mightily pleased with; and I think the other sheriff, who is Davis, the little-fellow, my schoolfellow, the bookseller, who was one of Audley's executors, and now become sheriff; which is a strange turn methinks. To Westminster Hall, where I came just as the House rose; and there, in the Hall, met with Sir W. Coventry, who is in pain to defend himself in the business of tickets, it being said that the paying of the ships at Chatham by ticket was by his direction, and he hath wrote to me to find his letters, and show them him, but I find none; but did there argue the case with him, and I think no great blame can be laid on us for that matter, only I see he is fearful. And he tells me his mistake in the House the other day, which occasions him much trouble, in showing of the House the Duke of Albemarle's letter about the good condition of Chatham, which he is sorry for, and owns as a mistake, the thing not being necessary to have been done; and confesses that nobody can escape from such error, some times or other. He says the House was well satisfied with my report yesterday; and so several others told me in the Hall that my report was very good and satisfactory, and that I have got advantage by it in the House: I pray God it may prove so! To the King's playhouse, and saw *The Black Prince*;

which is now mightily bettered by that long letter being printed, and so delivered to everybody at their going in, and some short reference made to it in the play; but, when all is done, I think it the worst play of my Lord Orrery's. But here, to my great satisfaction, I did see my Lord Hinchinbroke and his mistress, with her father and mother; and I am mightily pleased with the young lady, being handsome enough—and, indeed, to my great liking, as I would have her. Home, and then to my chamber, to read the true story, in Speed, of the Black Prince. This day it was moved in the House, that a day might be appointed to bring in an impeachment against the Chancellor, but it was decried as being irregular; but that if there was ground for complaint, it might be brought to the Committee for Miscarriages, and if they thought good, to present it to the House; and so it was carried. They did also vote this day thanks to be given to the Prince and Duke of Albemarle, for their care and conduct in the last year's war, which is a strange act; but, I know not how, the blockhead Albemarle hath strange luck to be loved, though he be, and every man must know it, the heaviest man in world, but stout and honest to his country. This evening late, Mr. Moore came to me to prepare matters for my Lord Sandwich's defence; wherein I can little assist, but will do all I can; and am in great fear of nothing but the business of the prizes,

but I fear my Lord will receive a vast deal of trouble by it.

24th. To write what letters I had to write, that I might go abroad with my wife, who was not well, only to jumble her, and so to the Duke of York's play-house; and there Betterton, not being yet well, we would not stay, though since I hear that Smith do act his part in *The Villain*, which was then acted as well or better than he, which I do not believe; but to Charing Cross, there to see *Polichinelli*. But it being begun, we in to see a Frenchman, at the house where my wife's father last lodged, one Monsieur Prin, play on the trump-marine, which he does beyond belief; and the truth is, it do so far outdo a trumpet as nothing more, and he do play anything very true. The instrument is open at the end, I discovered; but he would not let me look into it. Here we also saw again the two fat children come out of Ireland, and a brother and sister of theirs now come, which are of little ordinary growth, like other people. But, Lord! how strange it is to observe the difference between the same children born of the same little woman. Thence to Mile-End Green, and there drank, and so home, bringing home night with us.

25th. Up, and to make our answer ready for the Parliament this afternoon, to show how Commissioner Pett was singly concerned in the execution of all orders from Chatham, and that we did properly lodge all

orders with him. Thence with Sir W. Pen to the Parliament Committee, and there I had no more matters asked me. They were examining several about the business of Chatham again, and particularly my Lord Brouncker did meet with two or three blurs that he did not think of. One from Spragg, who says that the *Unity* was ordered up contrary to his order by my Lord Brouncker and Commissioner Pett. Another by Crispin, the waterman, who said he was upon the *Charles*; and spoke to Lord Brouncker coming by in his boat, to know whether they should carry up the *Charles*, they being a great many naked men without arms, and he told them she was well as she was. Both these have little in them indeed, but yet both did stick close against him; and he is the weakest man in the world to make his defence, and so is like to have much fault laid on him, for a man that minds his pleasure and little else of his whole charge. The Commissioners of the Ordnance being examined with all severity and hardly used, will go away with mighty blame; and I am told by everybody that it is likely to stick mighty hard upon them: at which everybody is glad, because of Duncomb's pride, and their expecting to have the thanks of the House; whereas they have deserved, as the Parliament apprehends, as bad as bad can be. Here is great talk of an impeachment brought in against my Lord Mordaunt, and that another will be brought in against my Lord Chancellor in a few days.

Here I understand for certain that they have ordered that my Lord Arlington's letters, and Secretary Morrice's letters of intelligence, be consulted about the business of the Dutch fleet's coming abroad; and I do hear how Birch is the man that do examine and trouble everybody with his questions.

26th. Mrs. Pierce tells me that the two Marshalls at the King's house are Stephen Marshall's, the great Presbyterian's daughters; and that Nelly and Beck Marshall, falling out the other day, the latter called the other my Lord Buckhurst's mistress. Nell answered her, "I was but one man's mistress, and you are a mistress to three or four, though a Presbyterian's praying daughter!" Mrs. Pierce is still very pretty, but paints red on her face, which makes me hate her.

27th. After dinner, I down to Deptford, the first time that I went to look upon the *Maybolt*, which the King hath given me, and there she is; and I did meet with Mr. Unthwayte, who do tell me that there are new sails ordered to be delivered her, and a cable, which I did not speak of at all to him. So, thereupon, I told him I would not be my own hindrance so much as to take her into my custody before she had them, which was all I said to him, but desired him to take a strict inventory of her, that I might not be cheated by the master nor the company, when they come to understand that the vessel is gone away, which he hath promised.



me. This evening comes Sir J. Minnes to me, to let me know that a Parliament-man hath been with him, to tell him that the Parliament intend to examine him particularly about Sir W. Coventry's selling of places and about my Lord Brouncker's discharging the ships at Chatham by ticket: for the former of which I am more particularly sorry that that business of Sir W. Coventry should come up again; though this old man tells me, and, I believe, that he can say nothing to it.

28th. To Sir W. Coventry's lodging, but he was gone out, and I find him at his house, which is fitting for him; and there I to him, and was with him above an hour alone, discoursing of the matters of the nation, and our Office, and himself. He owns that he is, at this day, the chief person aimed at by the Parliament—that is, by the friends of my Lord Chancellor, and also of the Duke of Albemarle, by reason of his unhappy showing of the Duke of Albemarle's letter the other day in the House; but that he thinks that he is not liable to any hurt they can fasten on him for anything. He says, he is so well armed to justify himself in everything, unless in the old business of selling places, when he says everybody did; and he will now not be forward to tell his own story as he hath been; but tells me he is grown wiser, and will put them to prove anything, and he will defend himself: besides that, he will dispute the statute, thinking

that it will not be found to reach him. We did talk many things, which, as they come into my mind now, I shall set down without order: that he is weary of public employment; and neither ever designed nor will ever, if his commission were brought to him wrapped in gold, accept of any single place in the State, as particularly Secretary of State, which, he says, the world discourses Morrice is willing to resign; and he thinks the King might have thought of him, but he would not by any means now take it, if given him, nor anything, but in commission with others, who may bear part of the blame; for now he observes well, that whoever did do anything singly are now in danger, however honest and painful they were, saying that he himself was the only man, he thinks, at the council board that spoke his mind clearly, as he thought, to the good of the King; and the rest, who sat silent, have nothing said to them, nor are taken notice of. That the first time the King did take him so closely into his confidence and ministry of affairs was upon the business of Chatham, when all the disturbances were there, and in the kingdom; and then, while everybody was fancying for himself, the King did find him to persuade him to call for the Parliament, declaring that it was against his own proper interest, forasmuch as it was likely they would find faults with him as well as with others, but that he would prefer the service of the King before his own; and thereupon the King did take him into

his special notice, and from that time to this hath received him so; and that then he did see the folly and mistakes of the Chancellor in the management of things, and that matters were never likely to be done well in that sort of conduct, and did persuade the King to think fit of the taking away the seals from the Chancellor, which, when it was done, he told me that he himself, in his own particular, was sorry for it; for, while he stood, there was he and my Lord Arlington to stand between him and harm: whereas now there is only my Lord Arlington, and he is now done, so that all their fury is placed upon him: but that he did tell the King when he first moved it, that, if he thought the laying of him, W. Coventry, aside, would at all facilitate the removing of the Chancellor, he would most willingly submit to it, whereupon the King did command him to try the Duke of York about it, and persuade him to it, which he did, by the King's command, undertake and compass, and the Duke of York did own his consent to the King, but afterwards was brought to be of another mind for the Chancellor, and now is displeased with him, and [so is] the Duchess, so that she will not see him; but he tells me that the Duke of York seems pretty kind, and hath said that he do believe that W. Coventry did mean well, and do it only out of judgment. He tells me that he never was an intriguer in his life, nor will be, nor of any combination of persons to set up this, or fling down that, nor

hath, in his own business, this Parliament, spoke to three members to say anything for him, but will stand upon his own defence, and will stay by it, and thinks that he is armed against all they can [say], but the old business of selling places, and in that thinks they cannot hurt him. However, I do find him mighty willing to have his name used as little as he can, and he was glad when I did deliver him up a letter of his to me, which did give countenance to the discharging of men by ticket at Chatham, which is now coming in question; and wherein, I confess I am sorry to find him so tender of appearing, it being a thing not only good and fit, all that was done in it, but promoted and advised by him. But he thinks the House is set upon wresting anything to his prejudice that they can pick up. He tells me he did never, as a great many have, call the Chancellor rogue and knave, and I know not what; but all that he hath said, and will stand by, is, that his counsels were not good, nor his manner of managing things. I suppose he means suffering the King to run in debt; for by-and-by the King, walking in the park with a great crowd of his idle people about him, I took occasion to say that it was a sorry thing to be a poor King, and to have others to come to correct the faults of his own servants, and that this was it that brought us all into this condition. He answered that he would never be a poor King, and then the other would mend of itself. "No," says he, "I would eat bread and drink

water first, and this day discharge all the idle company about me, and walk only with two footmen; and this I have told the King, and this must do it at last." I asked him how long the King would suffer this. He told me the King must suffer it yet longer, that he would not advise the King to do otherwise; for it would break out again worse, if he should break them up before the core be come up. After this, we fell to other talk, of my waiting upon him hereafter, it may be to read a chapter in Seneca, in this new house, which he hath bought, and is making very fine, when he may be out of employment, which he seems to wish more than to fear, and I do believe him heartily. Thence home, and met news from Townsend of the Wardrobe that old Young, the yeoman tailor, whose place my Lord Sandwich promised my father, is dead. Upon which, resolving presently that my father should not be troubled with it, but I hope I shall be able to enable him to end his days where he is in quiet. At the New Exchange, and there buying "The Indian Empereur," newly printed. After dinner, my wife, and Mercer, who grows fat, and Willett, and I, to the King's house, and there saw *The Committee*.

29th. To Westminster Hall the House setting all this day about the method of bringing in the charge against my Lord Chancellor; and at last resolved for a Committee to draw up the heads.

30th. To Whitehall, where we did a little business

with the Duke of York, only I perceive that he do leave all of us, as the King do those about him, to stand and fall by ourselves, and I think is not without some cares himself what the Parliament may do in matters wherein his honour is concerned. To the Parliament House ; where, after the Committee was sat, I was called in : and the first thing was upon the complaint of a dirty slut that was there, about a ticket which she had lost, and had applied herself to me for another. I did give them a short and satisfactory answer to that ; and so they sent her away, and were ashamed of their foolery, in giving occasion to 500 seamen and seamen's wives to come before them, as there were this afternoon. When I come home, I did find my wife, and Betty Turner, the two Mercers, and Mrs. Parker, an ugly lass, but yet dances well, and speaks the best of them, and W. Batchier, and Pembleton dancing ; and here I danced with them, and had a good supper, and as merry as I could be.

31st. After dinner, in comes Mr. Turner, of Eynsbury, lately come to town, and also after him Captain Hill of the *Coventry*, who lost her at Barbadoes, and hath come out of France, where he hath been long prisoner. I to Westminster ; and there at the lobby do hear by Commissioner Pett, to my great amazement, that he is in worse condition than before, by the coming in of the Duke of Albemarle's and Prince Rupert's Narratives this day ; wherein the former do most

severely lay matters upon him, so as the House this day have, I think, ordered him to the Tower again, or something like it; so that the poor man is likely to be overthrown, I doubt, right or wrong, so infinite fond they are of anything the Duke of Albemarle says or writes to them! I did then go down, and there met with Colonel Reames and cousin Roger Pepys; and there they do tell me how the Duke of Albemarle and the Prince have laid blame on a great many, and particularly on our Office in general; and particularly for want of provision, wherein I shall come to be questioned again in that business myself, which do trouble me. But my cousin Pepys and I had much discourse alone; and he do bewail the constitution of this House, and says there is a direct cabal and faction, as much as is possible between those for and against the Chancellor, and so in other factions, that there is nothing almost done honestly and with integrity; only some few, he says, there are that do keep out of all plots and combinations, and when their time comes will speak and see right done, if possible; and that he himself is looked upon to be a man that will be of no faction, and so they do shun to make him, and I am glad of it. He tells me that he thanks God that he never knew what it was to be tempted to be a knave in his life till he did come into the House of Commons, where there is nothing done but by passion, and faction, and private interest. Reames did tell me of a fellow last night, one

Kelsy, a commander of a fire-ship, who complains for want of his money paid him, did say that he did see one of the Commissioners of the Navy bring in three waggon-loads of prize-goods into Greenwich one night, but that the House did take no notice of it nor inquire; but this is me, and I must expect to be called to account, and answer what I did as well as I can. I espied Sir D. Gauden's coach, and so went out of mine into his, and there had opportunity to talk of the business of victuals, which the Duke of Albemarle and the Prince did complain that they were in want of the last year; but we do conclude we shall be able to show quite the contrary of that; only it troubles me that we must come to contend with these great persons, which will overrun us. Mr. Yeabsly and I to even some accounts, wherein I shall be a gainer about £200, which is a seasonable profit; for I have got nothing a great while.

*November 1st.* To Sir W. Coventry's. The Duke of Albemarle's and Prince's narratives, given yesterday by the House, fall foul of him and Sir G. Carteret in something about the dividing of the fleet, and the Prince particularly charging the commissioners of the Navy with negligence, whereof Sir W. Coventry is one. The Duke of Albemarle charges W. Coventry that he should tell him, when he come down to the fleet with Sir G. Carteret, to consult about the dividing of the fleet, that the Dutch would not be out in six



weeks, which W. Coventry says is as false as is possible, and he can prove the contrary by the Duke of Albemarle's own letters. The Duke says that he did upon sight of the Dutch call a council of officers, and they did conclude they could not avoid fighting the Dutch; and yet we did go to the enemy and found them at anchor, which is a pretty contradiction. And he tells me that Spragg did the other day say in the House, that the Prince, upon his going from the Duke of Albemarle with his fleet, did tell him that if the Dutch should come on, the Duke was to follow him, the Prince, with his fleet, and not fight the Dutch. But it is a sad consideration that all this picking of holes in one another's coats—nay, and the thanks of the House to the Prince and the Duke of Albemarle, and all this envy and design to ruin Sir W. Coventry—did arise from Sir W. Coventry's unfortunate mistake the other day, in producing of a letter from the Duke of Albemarle, touching the good condition of all things at Chatham just before the Dutch came up, and did us that fatal mischief; for upon this they are resolved to undo him, and I pray God they do not. To chapel, it being All-Hallows day, and heard a fine anthem, made by Pelham, who is come over. In this morning before chapel visited Sir G. Carteret, who is vexed to see how things are likely to go, but cannot help it, and yet seems to think himself mighty safe. I also visited my Lord Hinchinbroke at his chamber at Whitehall; I

am mightily pleased with his sobriety and few words ; there I found Mr. Turner, Moore, and Creed, talking of my Lord Sandwich, whose case I doubt is but bad, and, I fear, will not escape being worse. To the King's playhouse, and there saw a silly play and an old one, *The Taming of a Shrew*.

2nd. To the King's playhouse, and there saw *Henry the Fourth* ; and contrary to expectation, was pleased in nothing more than in Cartwright's speaking of Falstaff's speech about "What is honour?" The house full of Parliament-men, it being holiday with them : and it was observable how a gentleman of good habit, sitting just before us, eating of some fruit in the midst of the play, did drop down as dead, being choked : but with much ado, Orange Moll did thrust her finger down his throat, and brought him to life again.

3rd. To church, and thither comes Roger Pepys to our pew, and thence home to dinner, whither comes by invitation, Mr. Turner, the minister, and my cousin Roger brought with him Jeffrys, the apothecary at Westminster, who is our kinsman, and we had much discourse of Cottinghamshire. Roger did tell me of a bargain which I may now have in Norfolk, that my she-cousin, Nan Pepys, is going to sell, the title whereof is very good, and the pennyworth is also good enough ; but it is out of the way so of my life that I shall never enjoy it, nor, it may be, see it, and so I shall have

nothing to do with it. I find by discourse Mr. Turner to be a man mighty well read in the Roman history, which is very pleasant.

4th. To Westminster; and there landing at the New Exchange stairs, I to see Sir W. Coventry: and there he read over to me the Prince's and the Duke of Albemarle's narratives; wherein they are very severe against him and our Office. But Sir W. Coventry do condemn them; only that their persons and qualities are great, and so I do perceive he is afraid of them, though he will not confess it. But he do say that if he can get out of these briars, he will never trouble himself with princes nor dukes again. He finds several things in their narratives which are both inconsistent and foolish, as well as untrue. I confess I do see so much, that were I but well possessed of what I should have in the world, I think I could willingly retreat and trouble myself no more. Sir H. Cholmly owns Sir W. Coventry, in his opinion, to be one of the worthiest men in the nation, as I do really think he is. He tells me he do think really that they will cut off my Lord Chancellor's head, the Chancellor at this day having as much pride as is possible to those few that venture their fortunes by coming to see him; and that the Duke of York is troubled much, knowing that those that fling down the Chancellor cannot stop there, but will do something to him, to prevent his having it in his power hereafter to avenge himself and

father-in-law, upon them. And this Sir H. Cholmly fears may be by divorcing the Queen and getting another, or declaring the Duke of Monmouth legitimate; which God forbid! He tells me he do verily believe that there will come in an impeachment of high treason against my Lord of Ormond; among other things, for ordering the quartering of soldiers in Ireland on free quarters; which, it seems, is high treason in that country, and was one of the things that lost the Lord Strafford his head, and the law is not yet repealed; which, he says, was a mighty oversight of him not to have it repealed, which he might with ease have done, or have justified himself by an Act. To Turlington, the great spectacle-maker, for advice, who dissuades me from using old spectacles, but rather young ones, and do tell me that nothing can wrong my eyes more than for me to use reading glasses which do magnify much.

6th. The House is just now upon taking away the charter from the Company of Woodmongers, whose frauds, it seems, have been mightily laid before them. I to the House of Lords, and there first saw Dr. Fuller, as Bishop of Lincoln, to sit among the Lords. Here I spoke with the Duke of York and the Duke of Albemarle about Tangier; but methinks both of them do look very coldly upon one another, and their discourse mighty cold, and little to the purpose about our want of money. Thence called at Allestry's, the bookseller.

who is bookseller to the Royal Society, and there did buy three or four books, and find great variety of French and foreign books. With my wife to a play, and the girl—*Macbeth*, which we still like mightily, though mighty short of the content we used to have when Betterton acted, who is still sick. This day in the Painted Chamber, I met and walked with Mr. George Montagu, who thinks it may go hard with my Lord Sandwich, but he says the House is offended with Sir W. Coventry much, and that he do endeavour to gain them again in the most precarious manner in all things that is possible.

7th. At noon resolved with Sir W. Pen to go to see *The Tempest*, an old play of Shakespeare's, acted, I hear, the first day; and so my wife, and girl, and W. Hewer by themselves, and Sir W. Pen and I afterwards by ourselves; and forced to sit in the side balcony over against the music-room at the Duke's house, close by my Lady Dorset and a great many great ones. The house mighty full; the King and Court there: and the most innocent play that ever I saw; and a curious piece of music in an echo of half sentences, the echo repeating the former half, while the man goes on to the latter, which is mighty pretty. The play has no great wit, but yet good above ordinary plays.

8th. Called up betimes by Sir H. Cholmly, and he and I to good purpose most of the morning—I in my

dressing-gown with him, on our Tangier accounts, and stated them well; and here he tells me that he believes it will go hard with my Lord Chancellor. Thence I to the office, where met on some special business; and here I hear that the Duke of York is very ill, and by-and-by word brought us that we shall not need to attend to-day on the Duke of York, for he is not well, which is bad news. They being gone, I to my workmen, who this day come to alter my office by beating down the wall, and making me a fair window there, and increasing the window of my closet, which do give me some present trouble, but will be mighty pleasant. So all the whole day among them till very late, and so home weary to supper, and to bed, troubled for the Duke of York, his being sick.

9th. The House very busy, and like to be so all day, about my Lord Chancellor's impeachment, whether treason or not. I spoke with my cousin Roger, he desirous to get back into the House, he having his notes in his hands. The lawyers being now speaking to the point of whether treason or not treason, the article of advising the King to break up the Parliament, and to govern by the sword. To the Hall, and there met Mr. King, the Parliament-man for Harwich, and there he did show and let me take a copy of all the articles against my Lord Chancellor, and what members they were that undertook to bring witnesses to make them good. So away home, and there, by W. Pen, do hear

that this article was over-voted in the House not to be a ground of impeachment of treason, at which I was glad, being willing to have no blood spilt, if I could help it.

10th. (Lord's day.) To church. Here was my Lady Batten in her mourning. To Whitehall to speak with Sir W. Coventry; and there, beyond all we looked for, do hear that the Duke of York hath got, and is full of, the small-pox; and so we to his lodgings, and there find most of the family going to St. James's, and the gallery doors locked up, that nobody might pass to nor fro: and so sad a house I am sorry to see. I am sad to consider the effects of his death if he should miscarry; but Dr. Frazier tells me that [he is in as good condition as a man can be in his case. The eruption appeared last night; it seems he was let blood on Friday. W. Coventry told us that the counsel he hath too late learned is, to spring nothing in the House, nor offer anything, but just what is drawn out of a man; that this is the best way of dealing with a Parliament, and that he hath paid dear, and knows not how much more he may pay for not knowing it sooner; when he did unnecessarily produce the Duke of Albemarle's letter about Chatham.

11th. Sir G. Carteret and I towards the Temple in coach together; and there he did tell me how the King do all he can in the world to overthrow my Lord Chancellor, and that notice is taken of every man

about the King that is not seen to promote the ruin of the Chancellor; and that this being another great day in his business, he dares not but be there. He tells me that as soon as Secretary Morrice brought the Great Seal from my Lord Chancellor, Bab May fell upon his knees, and caught the King about his legs and joyed him, and said that this was the first time that ever he could call him King of England, being freed from this great man, which was a most ridiculous saying. And he told me that when first my Lord Gerard, a great while ago, came to the King, and told him that the Chancellor did say openly that the King was a lazy person and not fit to govern, which is now made one of the things in the people's mouths against the Chancellor, "Why," says the King, "that is no news, for he hath told me so twenty times, and but the other day he told me so," and made matter of mirth at it; but yet this light discourse is likely to prove bad to him. After dinner, my wife and I, and Willett, to the King's playhouse, and there saw *The Indian Emperor*, a good play, but not so good as people cry it up, I think, though above all things Nell's ill-speaking of a great part made me mad. Thence with great trouble and charge getting a coach. This day I had a whole doe sent me by Mr. Hozier, which is a fine present, and I had the umbles of it for dinner. I hear Kirton, my bookseller, poor man, is dead, I believe, of grief for his losses by the fire.



12th. Up, and to the office, where sat all the morning; and there hear that the Duke of York do yet do very well with his smallpox: pray God he may continue to do so! This morning also, to my astonishment, I hear that yesterday my Lord Chancellor to another of his articles, that of betraying the King's councils to his enemies, is voted to have matter against him for an impeachment of high treason, and that this day the impeachment is to be carried up to the House of Lords, which is very high, and I am troubled at it; for God knows what will follow, since they that do this must do more to secure themselves against any that will revenge this, if it ever come in their power

13th. To Westminster, where I find the House sitting, and in a mighty heat about Commissioner Pett, that they would have him impeached, though the Committee have yet brought in but part of their report: and this heat of the House is much heightened by Sir Thomas Clifford telling them, that he was the man that did, out of his own purse, employ people at the out-ports to prevent the King of Scots to escape after the battle of Worcester. The house was in a great heat all this day about it, and at last it was carried, however, that it should be referred back to the Committee to make further inquiry. By-and-by I met with Mr. Wren, who tells me that the Duke of York is in as good condition as is possible for a man in his

condition of the small-pox. He, I perceive, is mightily concerned in the business of my Lord Chancellor, the impeachment against whom is gone up to the House of Lords; and great differences there are in the Lords' House about it, and the Lords are very high one against another. To the Duke of York's house, and there saw the *Tempest* again, which is very pleasant, and full of so good variety that I cannot be more pleased almost in a comedy, only the seaman's part a little too tedious. To my chamber, and do begin anew to bind myself to keep my old vows, and among the rest not to see a play till Christmas but once in every other week, and have laid aside £10 which is to be lost to the poor if I do. This day Mr. Chichly told me, with a seeming trouble, that the House have stopped his son Jack (Sir John) his going to France, that he may be a witness against my Lord Sandwich: which do trouble me, though he can, I think, say little.

14th. At noon all my clerks with me to dinner. to a venison pasty; and there comes Creed and dined with me, and he tells me how high the Lords were in the Lords' House about the business of the Chancellor, and that they were not yet agreed to impeach him. After dinner, he and I, and my wife and girl, the latter two to their tailor's, and he and I to the Committee of the Treasury, where I had a hearing, but can get but £6,000 for the pay of the garrison, in lieu of above £16,000: and this Alderman Backewell gets remitted,

there, and I am glad of it. Thence by Coach took up my wife and girl, and so home, and set down Creed at Arundel House, going to the Royal Society, whither I would be glad to go, but cannot. Thence home, and to the office, where about my letters, and so home to supper and to bed, my eyes being bad again; and by this means, the nights, now-a-days, do become very long to me, longer than I can sleep out.

15th. To Westminster, and do hear that there is to be a conference between the two Houses to-day, so I stayed: and it was only to tell the Commons that the Lords cannot agree to the confining or sequestering of the Earl of Clarendon from the Parliament, forasmuch as they do not specify any particular crime which they lay upon him and call treason. This the House did receive, and so parted: at which, I hear, the Commons are like to grow very high, and will insist upon their privileges, and the Lords will own theirs, though the Duke of Buckingham, Bristol, and others, have been very high in the House of Lords to have had him committed. This is likely to breed ill blood. Home, and there find, as I expected, Mr. Cæsar and little Pelham Humphreys, lately returned from France, and is an absolute Monsieur, as full of form, and confidence, and vanity, and disparages everything, and everybody's skill but his own. But to hear how he laughs at all the King's music here, as Blagrave and others, that they cannot keep time nor tune, nor understand any-

thing; and that Grebus, the Frenchman, the King's master of the music, how he understands nothing, nor can play on any instrument, and so cannot compose: and that he will give him a lift out of his place, and that he and the King are mighty great! The King hath, as Mr. Moore says Sir Thomas Crewe told him, been heard to say that the quarrel is not between my Lord Chancellor and him, but his brother and him; which will make sad work among us if that he once promoted, as to be sure it will, Buckingham and Bristol being now the only counsel the King follows, so as Arlington and Coventry are come to signify little. He tells me they are likely to fall upon my Lord Sandwich; but, for my part, sometimes I am apt to think they cannot do him much harm, he telling me that there is no great fear of the business of resumption. This day, Poundy, the waterman, was with me, to let me know that he was summoned to bear witness against me to Prince Rupert's people, who have a commission to look after the business of prize-goods, about the business of the prize-goods I was concerned in: but I did desire him to speak all he knew, and not to spare me, nor did promise nor give him anything, but sent him away with good words.

16th. To Whitehall, where there is to be a performance of music of Pelham's before the King. The company not come; but I did go into the music-room, where Captain Cocke and many others; and here I did

hear the best and the smallest organ go that ever I saw in my life, and such a one as, by the grace of God, I will have the next year, if I continue in this condition, whatever it cost me. Met Mr. Gregory, my old acquaintance, an understanding gentleman; and he and I walked an hour together, talking of the bad prospect of the times; and the sum of what I learn from him is this: That the King is the most concerned in the world against the Chancellor, and all people that do not appear against him, and therefore is angry with the bishops, having said that he had one bishop on his side, Crofts, and but one: that Buckingham and Bristol are now his only Cabinet Council: and that, before the Duke of York fell sick, Buckingham was admitted to the King of his Cabinet, and there stayed with him several hours, and the Duke of York shut out. That it is plain that there is dislike between the King and the Duke of York, and that it is to be feared that the House will go so far against the Chancellor that they must do something to undo the Duke of York, or will not think themselves safe. That this Lord Vaughan that is so great against the Chancellor, is one of the lowdest fellows of the age, worse than Sir Charles Sedley; and that he was heard to swear he would do my Lord Clarendon's business. That he do find that my Lord Clarendon hath more friends in both Houses than he believes he would have, by reason that they do see what are the hands that pull him down, which they

do not like. That Harry Coventry was scolded at by the King severely the other day; and that his answer was that, if he must not speak what he thought in this business in Parliament he must not come thither. And he says that by this very business Harry Coventry hath got more fame and common esteem than any gentleman in England hath at this day, and is an excellent and able person. That the King, who not long ago did say of Bristol, that he was a man able in three years to get himself a fortune in any kingdom in the world, and lose all again in three months, do now hug him, and commend his parts everywhere, above all the world. How fickle is this man [the King], and how unhappy we like to be! That he fears some furious courses will be taken against the Duke of York; and that he hath heard that it was designed, if they cannot carry matters against the Chancellor, to impeach the Duke of York himself, which God forbid! That Sir Edward Nicholas, whom he served while Secretary, is one of the best men in the world, but hated by the Queen-mother, for a service he did the old king against her mind and her favourites; and that she and my Lady Castlemaine did make the King to lay him aside: but this man says that he is one of the most heavenly and charitable men in the whole world. That the House of Commons resolve to stand by their proceedings, and have chosen a Committee to draw up the reasons thereof to carry to the Lords, which is likely to

breed great heat between them. That the Parliament, after all this, is likely to give the King no money; and therefore that it is to be wondered what makes the King give way to so great extravagances, which do all tend to the making him less than he is, and so will, every day more and more; and by this means every creature is divided against the other, that there never was so great an uncertainty in England, of what would be the event of things, as at this day: nobody being at ease or safe. To Whitehall; and there got into the theatre-room, and there heard both the vocal and instrumental music, where the little fellow stood keeping time; but for my part, I see no great matter, but quite the contrary in both sorts of music. Here was the King and Queen, and some of the ladies; among whom none more jolly than my Lady Buckingham, her Lord being once more a great man.

17th. (Lord's day.) Comes Captain Cocke, who sat with me all the evening. He tells me that he hears that Sir W. Coventry was, a little before the Duke of York fell sick, with the Duke of York in his closet, and fell on his knees, and begged his pardon for what he hath done to my Lord Chancellor; but this I dare not soon believe. But he tells me another thing, which he says he had from the person himself who spoke with the Duke of Buckingham, who, he says, is a very sober and worthy man, that he did lately speak with the Duke of Buckingham about his greatness now with the

King, and told him:—"But, sir, these things that the King do now, in suffering the Parliament to do all this, you know are not fit for the King to suffer, and you know how often you have said to me that the King was a weak man, and unable to govern, but to be governed, and that you could command him as you listed; why do you suffer him to go on in these things?"—"Why," says the Duke of Buckingham, "I do suffer him to do this, that I may hereafter the better command him." He told me of one odd passage by the Duke of Albemarle, speaking how hasty a man he is, and how for certain he would have killed Sir W. Coventry, had he met him in a little time after his showing his letter in the House. He told me that a certain lady, whom he knows, did tell him that, she being certainly informed that some of the Duke of Albemarle's family did say that the Earl of Torrington was a bastard, [she] did think herself concerned to tell the Duke of Albemarle of it, and did first tell the Duchess, and was going to tell the old man, when the Duchess pulled her back by the sleeve, and hindered her, swearing to her that if he should hear it he would certainly kill the servant that should be found to have said it, and therefore prayed her to hold her peace.

18th. To Whitehall, to the Commissioners of the Treasury, and so home, leaving multitudes of solicitors at their door, of one sort or other, complaining for want of such dispatch as they had in my Lord.



Treasurer's time. Among others, there was Gresham College come, about getting a grant of Chelsea College for their Society, which the King, it seems, hath given them his right in; but they met with some other pretences. I think, to it, besides the King's.

19th. To the Committee, and Sir R. Brookes did take me alone, and pray me to prevent their trouble, by discovering the order he would have. I told him I would suppress none, nor could, but this would not satisfy him. Here I did stand by unseen, and did hear their impertinent yet malicious examinations of some rogues about the business of Bergen, wherein they would wind in something against my Lord Sandwich, which was plain by their manner of examining, as Sir Thomas Crewe did afterwards observe to me. But Sir Thomas Crewe and W. Hewer did tell me that they did hear Captain Downing give a cruel testimony against my Lord Brouncker for his neglect, and doing nothing in the time of straits at Chatham when he was spoke to, and did tell the Committee that he, Downing, did presently after, in Lord Brouncker's hearing, tell the Duke of Albemarle, that if he might advise the King, he should hang both my Lord Brouncker and Pett. This is very hard. This night I wrote to my father, in answer to a new match which is proposed, the executor of Ensuit, my sister's former servant, for my sister, that I will continue my mind of giving her £500, if he likes of the match. My father did also this week,

by Shepley, return me up a guinea, which, it seems, upon searching the ground, they have found since I was there. I was told this day that Lord Hide, second son of my Lord Chancellor, did some time since in the House say, that if he thought his father was guilty but of one of the things then said against him, he would be the first that should call for judgment against him; which Mr. Waller, the poet, did say was spoken like the old Roman, Brutus, for its greatness and worthiness.

20th. This afternoon Mr. Mills told me how fully satisfactory my first Report was to the House in the business of Chatham, which I am glad to hear; and the more, for that I know that he is a great creature of Sir R. Brookes's.

21st. My wife not very well, but is to go to Mr. Mill's child's christening, where she is godmother. Among other things of news, I do hear, that upon the reading of the House of Commons' reasons of the manner of their proceedings in the business of my Lord Chancellor, the reasons were so bad, that my Lord Bristol himself did declare that he would not stand to what he had, and did still advise the Lords to concur to, upon any of the reasons of the House of Commons; but if it was put to the question whether it should be done on their reasons, he would be against them; and, indeed, it seems the reasons—however they come to escape the House of Commons, which shows how slightly the greatest matters are done in this

that themselves only are a Court, and the Chief Court of Judicature, and therefore are not to dispute the laws and method of their own Court with them that are none, and so will not submit so much as to have their power disputed. And it is conceived that much of this eagerness among the Lords do arise from the fear some of them have that they may be dealt with in the same manner themselves, and therefore do stand upon it now. It seems my Lord Clarendon hath, it is said and believed, had his horses several times in his coach, ready to carry him to the Tower, expecting a message to that purpose; but by this means his case is like to be laid by. With Creed to a tavern, where Dean Wilkins and others: and good discourse; among the rest, of a man that is a little frantic, that hath been a kind of minister, Dr. Wilkins saying that he hath read for him in his church, that he is a poor and debauched man, that the College have hired for 20s. to have some of the blood of a sheep let into his body, and it is to be done on Saturday next. They propose to let in about twelve ounces; which, they compute, is what will be let in in a minute's time by a watch. On this occasion, Dr. Whistler told a pretty story related by Muffet, a good author, of Dr. Caius, that built Caius College; that, being very old, and living only at that time upon woman's milk, he, while he fed upon the milk of an angry, fretful woman, was so himself; and then being advised to take it of a good-

world, and even in Parliaments—were none of them of strength, but the principle of them untrue; they saying, that where any man is brought before a judge, accused of treason in general, without specifying the particular, the judge is obliged to commit him. The question being put by the Lords to my Lord Keeper, he said that quite the contrary was true: and then in the Sixth Article (I will get a copy of them if I can) there are two or three things strangely asserted to the diminishing of the King's power, as is said, at least; things that heretofore would not have been heard of. But then the question being put among the Lords, as my Lord Bristol advised, whether, upon the whole matter and reasons that had been laid before them, they would commit my Lord Clarendon, it was carried five to one against it; there being but three bishops against him, of whom Cosens and Dr. Reynolds were two, and I know not the third. This made the opposite Lords, as Bristol and Buckingham, so mad, that they declared and protested against it, speaking very broad that there was mutiny and rebellion in the hearts of the Lords, and that they desired they might enter their dissents, which they did do in great fury. So that upon the Lords sending to the Commons, as I am told, to have a conference for them to give their answer to the Commons' reasons, the Commons did desire a free conference; but the Lords do deny it; and the reason is, that they hold not the Commons any Court, but

that themselves only are a Court, and the Chief Court of Judicature, and therefore are not to dispute the laws and method of their own Court with them that are none, and so will not submit so much as to have their power disputed. And it is conceived that much of this eagerness among the Lords do arise from the fear some of them have that they may be dealt with in the same manner themselves, and therefore do stand upon it now. It seems my Lord Clarendon hath, it is said and believed, had his horses several times in his coach, ready to carry him to the Tower, expecting a message to that purpose; but by this means his case is like to be laid by. With Creed to a tavern, where Dean Wilkins and others: and good discourse; among the rest, of a man that is a little frantic, that hath been a kind of minister, Dr. Wilkins saying that he hath read for him in his church, that he is a poor and debauched man, that the College have hired for 20s. to have some of the blood of a sheep let into his body, and it is to be done on Saturday next. They propose to let in about twelve ounces; which, they compute, is what will be let in in a minute's time by a watch. On this occasion, Dr. Whistler told a pretty story related by Muffet, a good author, of Dr. Caius, that built Caius College; that, being very old, and living only at that time upon woman's milk, he, while he fed upon the milk of an angry, fretful woman, was so himself; and then being advised to take it of a good-

natured, patient woman, he did become so, beyond the common temper of his age. Their discourse was very fine; and if I should be put out of my office, I do take great content in the liberty I shall be at of frequenting these gentlemen's company. Home, and there my wife tells me great stories of the gossiping women of the parish—what this, and what that woman was; and among the rest, how Mrs. Hollworthy is the veriest confident bragging gossip of them all, which I should not have believed; but that Sir R. Brookes, her partner, was mighty civil to her, and taken with her and what not. Inventing a cipher to put on a piece of plate, which I must give, better than ordinary, to the parson's child.

22nd. Met with Cooling, my Lord Chamberlain's secretary, and from him do learn the truth of all I heard last night; and understand further, that this stiffness of the Lords is in no manner of kindness to my Lord Chancellor, for he neither hath, nor do, nor for the future can oblige any of them, but rather the contrary; but that they do fear what the consequence may be to themselves should they yield in his case, as many of them have reason. And more, he showed me how this is rather to the wrong and prejudice of my Lord Chancellor; for that it is better for him to come to be tried before the Lords, where he can have right and make interest, than, when the Parliament is up, be committed by the King, and tried

by a Court on purpose made by the King, of what Lords the King pleases, who have a mind to have his head. So that my Lord Cornbury himself, his son, he tells me, hath moved, that if they have treason against my Lord of Clarendon, that they would specify it and send it up to the Lords, that he might come to his trial: so full of intrigues this business is! Walked a good while in the Temple church, observing the plainness of Selden's tomb, and how much better one of his executors hath, who is buried by him.

23rd. Busy till late preparing things to fortify myself and fellows against the Parliament; and particularly myself against what I fear is thought, that I have suppressed the order of the Board by which the discharging the great ships at Chatham by tickets was directed, whereas, indeed, there was no such order.

24th. (Lord's day.) For want of my other clerks, sent to Mr. Gibbs, whom I never used till now, for the writing over of my little pocket contract-book; and there I laboured till nine at night with him, in drawing up the history of all that hath passed concerning tickets, in order to the laying the whole, and clearing myself and Office before Sir R. Brookes; and in this I took great pains, and then sent him away, and proceeded, and had W. Hewer come to me, and he and I till past twelve at night in the office, and he, which was a good service, did so inform me in the consequences of writing this report, and that what I

said would not hold water, in denying this Board to have ever ordered the discharging out of the service whole ships by ticket, that I did alter my whole counsel, and fall to arm myself with good reasons to justify the Office in so doing, which hath been but rare. Having done this, I went with great quiet in my mind, home, though vexed that so honest a business should bring me so much trouble; but mightily was pleased to find myself put out of my former design; and so after supper to bed.

25th. This morning Sir W. Pen tells me that the House was very hot on Saturday last upon the business of liberty of speech in the House, and damned the vote in the beginning of the Long Parliament against it: so that he fears that there may be some bad thing which they have a mind to broach, which they dare not do without more security than they now have. God keep us, for things look mighty ill!

26th. By coach as far as the Temple, and there saw a new book, in folio, of all that suffered for the King in the late times, which I will buy. At my goldsmith's, bought a basin for my wife to give the parson's child, to which the other day she was god-mother. It cost me £10 14s. besides graving, which I do with the cypher of the name, Daniel Mills. After dinner come to me Mr. Warren, and there did tell me that he come to pay his debt to me for the kindness I did him in getting his last ship out, which I must



also remember was a service to the King, though I did not tell him so. He would present me with sixty pieces of gold. I told him I would demand nothing of his promises, though they were much greater, nor would have thus much, but if he could but afford to give me but fifty pieces, it should suffice me. So now he brought something in a paper, which since proves to be fifty pieces. This evening comes to me to my closet at the office Sir John Chichly, of his own accord, to tell what he shall answer to the Committee, when, as he expects, he shall be examined about my Lord Sandwich; which is so little as will not hurt my Lord at all, I know.

27th. Mr. Pierce comes to me, and there, in general, tells me how the King is not fallen in and become a slave to the Duke of Buckingham, led by none but him, whom he, Mr. Pierce, swears he knows do hate the very person of the King, and would, as well as will, certainly ruin him. He do say, and I think is right, that the King do in this do the most ungrateful part of a master to a servant that ever was done, in this carriage of his to my Lord Chancellor: that, it may be, the Chancellor may have faults, but none such as these they speak of; that he do now really fear that all is going to ruin, for he says that he hears Sir W. Coventry hath been just before his sickness, with the Duke of York, to ask his forgiveness and peace for what he had done; for that he never could foresee

that what he meant so well, in the counselling to lay by the Chancellor, should come to this.

28th. To the King's playhouse and there sat by my wife, and saw *The Mistaken Beauty*, which I never, I think, saw before, though an old play; and there is much in it that I like, though the name is but improper to it—at least that name, it being also called *The Liar*, which is proper enough.

29th. Waked about seven o'clock this morning with a noise I supposed I heard near our chamber, of knocking, which, by-and-by increased: and I more awake could distinguish it better. I then waked my wife, and both of us wondered at it, and lay so great a while, while that increased, and at last heard it plainer, knocking, as if it were breaking down a window for people to get out; and then removing of stools and chairs; and plainly, by-and-by, going up and down our stairs. We lay, both of us, afraid; yet I would have rose, but my wife would not let me. Besides, I could not do it without making noise; and we did both conclude that thieves were in the house, but wondered what our people did, whom we thought either killed, or afraid, as we were. Thus we lay till the clock struck eight, and high day. At last I removed my gown and slippers safely to the other side of the bed over my wife; and there safely rose, and put on my gown and breeches, and then, with a fire-brand in my hand, safely opened the door, and saw

nor heard anything. Then, with fear, I confess, went to the maid's chamber-door, and all quiet and safe. Called Jane up and went down safely, and opened my chamber-door, where all well. Then more freely about, and to the kitchen, where the cook-maid up, and all safe. So up again, and when Jane come, and we demanded whether she heard no noise, she said, "Yes, but was afraid," but rose with the other maid and found nothing; but heard a noise in the great stack of chimneys that goes from Sir J. Minnes through our house; and so we sent, and their chimneys have been swept this morning, and the noise was that, and nothing else. It is one of the most extraordinary accidents in my life, and gives ground to think of Don Quixote's adventures how people may be surprised, and the more from an accident last night, that our young gib-cat did leap down our stairs from top to bottom at two leaps, and frightened us, that we could not tell whether it was the cat or a spirit, and do sometimes think this morning that the house might be haunted.

30th. To Arundel House, to the election of officers for the next year; where I was near being chosen of the Council, but am glad I was not, for I could not have attended, though, above all things, I could wish it; and do take it as a mighty respect to have been named there. Then to Cary House, a house now of entertainment, next my Lady Ashly's; where I have here-

tofore heard Common Prayer in the time of Dr. Mossum. I was pleased to see the person who had his blood taken out. He speaks well, and did thus give the Society a relation thereof in Latin, saying that he finds himself much better since, and as a new man, but he is cracked a little in his head, though he speaks very reasonably and very well. He had but 20s. for his suffering it, and is to have the same again tried upon him: the first sound man that ever had it tried on him in England, and but one that we hear of in France. My Lord Anglesey told me this day that he did believe the House of Commons would the next week yield to the Lords; but, speaking with others this day, they conclude they will not, but that rather the King will accommodate it by committing my Lord Clarendon himself. I remember what Mr. Evelyn said, that he did believe we should soon see ourselves fall into a Commonwealth again.

*December 1st.* (Lord's day.) I to church: and in our pew there sat a great lady, whom I afterwards understood to be my Lady Carlisle, a very fine woman indeed in person.

2nd. The 'Lords' answer is come down to the Commons, that they are not satisfied in the Commons' reasons; and so the Commons are hot, and like to sit all day upon the business what to do herein, most thinking that they will remonstrate against the Lords. Thence to Lord Crewe's, and there dined with him;

where, after dinner, he took me aside, and bewailed the condition of the nation, now the King and his brother are at a distance about this business of the Chancellor, and the two houses differing: and he do believe that there are so many about the King like to be concerned and troubled by the Parliament, that they will get him to dissolve or prorogue the Parliament; and the rather, for that the King is likely, by this good husbandry of the Treasury, to get out of debt, and the Parliament is likely to give no money. Among other things my Lord Crewe did tell me with grief, that he hears that the King of late hath not dined nor supped with the Queen as he used of late to do. To Westminster Hall, where my cousin Roger tells me of the high vote of the Commons this afternoon, that the proceedings of the Lords in the case of my Lord Clarendon are an obstruction to justice, and of ill precedent to future times.

3rd. To Sir W. Coventry's, the first time I have seen him at his new house since he came to lodge there. He tells me of the vote for none of the House to be of the Commission for the Bill of Accounts, which he thinks so great a disappointment to Birch and others that expected to be of it, that he thinks, could it have been foreseen, there would not have been any Bill at all. We hope it will be the better for all that are to account; it being likely that the men, being few, and not of the House, will hear reason. The main business I went

about was about Gilsthrop, Sir W. Batten's clerk, who, being upon his death-bed and now dead, hath offered to make discoveries of the disorders of the Navy, and of £65,000 damage to the King, which made mighty noise in the Commons' House; and members appointed to go to him, which they did; but nothing to the purpose got from him, but complaints of false musters, and ships being refitted with victuals and stores at Plymouth, after they were fitted from other ports; but all this to no purpose, nor more than we know and will own. But the best is that this loggerhead should say this, that understands nothing of the Navy, nor ever would, and hath particularly blemished his master by name among us. I told Sir W. Coventry of my letter to Sir R. Brookes, and his answer to me. He advises me in what I write to him to be as short as I can, and obscure, saving in things fully plain; for all that he do is to make mischief; and that the greatest wisdom in dealing with the Parliament in the world is to say little, and let them get out what they can by force, which I shall observe. He declared to me much of his mind to be ruled by his own measures, and not to go so far as many would have him to the ruin of my Lord Chancellor, and for which they do endeavour to do what they can against Sir W. Coventry. "But," says he, "I have done my do in helping to get him out of the administration of things, for which he is not fit, but for his life or estate I will have nothing

to say to it: besides that, my duty to my master the Duke of York is such, that I will perish before I will do anything to displease or disoblige him, where the very necessity of the kingdom do not in my judgment call me." Home, and there met W. Batelier, who tells me the first great news that my Lord Chancellor is fled this day, and left a paper behind him for the House of Lords, telling them the reason of his retiring, complaining of a design for his ruin. But the paper I must get: only the thing at present is great, and will put the King and Commons to some new counsels certainly. Sir Richard Ford told us this evening an odd story of the baseness of the late Lord Mayor, Sir W. Bolton, in cheating the poor of the City out of the collections made for the people that were burned of £1,800, of which he can give no account, and in which he hath forsworn himself plainly, so that the Court of Aldermen have sequestered him from their Court till he do bring in an account. He says also that this day hath been made to appear to them that the keeper of Newgate hath at this day made his house the only nursery of rogues, prostitutes, pickpockets, and thieves in the world; where they were bred and entertained, and the whole society met: and that for the sake of the sheriffs they durst not this day commit him, for fear of making him let out the prisoners, but are fain to go by artifice to deal with him. He tells me, also, speaking of the new street that is to be made from

Guildhall down to Cheapside, that the ground is already most of it bought. And tells me of one particular, of a man that hath a piece of ground lying in the very middle of the street that must be, which, when the street is cut out of it, there will remain ground enough of each side to build a house to front the street. He demanded £700 for the ground, and to be excused paying anything for the melioration of the rest of his ground that he was to keep. The Court consented to give him £700, only not to abate him the consideration, which the man denied, but told them, and so they agreed that he would excuse the City the £700, that he might have the benefit of the melioration without paying anything for it. So much some will get by having the City burned! Ground, by this means, that was not 4d. a foot before, will now, when houses are built, be worth 15s. a foot. But he tells me of the common standard now reckoned on between man and man, in places where there is no alteration of circumstances, but only the houses burnt, there the ground, which, with a house on it did yield £100 a year, is now reputed worth £33 6s. 8d.; and that this is the common market price between one man and another, made upon a good and moderate medium.

4th. I hear that the House of Lords did send down the paper which my Lord Clarendon left behind him, directed to the Lords, to be seditious and scandalous; and the Commons have voted that it be burned by the



hands of the hangman, and that the King be desired to agree to it. I do hear, also, that they have desired the King to use means to stop his escape out of the nation. This day Gilstthrop is buried, who hath made all the late discourse of the great discovery of £65,000, of which the King hath been wronged.

5th. This day, not for want, but for good husbandry, I sent my father, by his desire, six pair of my old shoes which fit him, and are good; yet methought it was a thing against my mind to have him wear my old things.

6th. With Sir J. Minnes to the Duke of York, the first time that I have seen him, or we waited on him since his sickness; and, blessed be God! he is not at all the worse for the smallpox, but is only a little weak yet. We did much business with him, and so parted. My Lord Anglesey told me how my Lord Northampton brought in a Bill into the House of Lords yesterday, under the name of a Bill for the Honour and Privilege of the House, and Mercy to my Lord Clarendon: which he told me he opposed, saying that he was a man accused of treason by the House of Commons; and mercy was not proper for him, having not been tried yet, and so no mercy needful for him. However, the Duke of Buckingham and others did desire that the Bill might be read; and it was for banishing my Lord Clarendon from all his Majesty's dominions, and that it should be treason to have him found in any of them:

the thing is only a thing of vanity, and to insult over him. By-and-by home with Sir J. Minnes, who tells me that my Lord Clarendon did go away in a Custom-house boat, and is now at Calais: and, I confess, nothing seems to hang more heavy than his leaving of this unfortunate paper behind him, that hath angered both Houses, and hath, I think, reconciled them in that which otherwise would have broke them in pieces; so that I do hence, and from Sir W. Coventry's late example and doctrine to me, learn that on these sorts of occasions there is nothing like silence; it being seldom any wrong to a man to say nothing, but for the most part it is to say anything. Sir J. Minnes told me a story of my Lord Cottington, who, wanting a son, intended to make his nephew his heir, a country boy; but did alter his mind upon the boy's being persuaded by another young heir in roguery to crow like a cock at my Lord's table, much company being there, and the boy having a great trick at doing that perfectly. My Lord bade them take that fool away from the table, and so gave over the thoughts of making him his heir from this piece of folly. Captain Cocke comes to me, and among other discourse, tells me that he is told that an impeachment against Sir W. Coventry will be brought in very soon. He tells me, that even those that are against my Lord Chancellor and the Court in the House do not trust nor agree one with another. He tells me that my Lord Chancellor

went away about ten at night on Saturday last at Westminster, and took boat at Westminster, and thence by a vessel to Calais, where he believes he now is: and that the Duke of York and Mr. Wren knew of it, and that himself did know of it on Sunday morning: that on Sunday his coach, and people about it, went to Twittenham, and the world thought that he had been there: that nothing but this unhappy paper hath undone him, and that he doubts that this paper hath lost him everywhere: that his withdrawing do reconcile things so far as he thinks, the heat of their fury will be over, and that all will be made well between the two [royal] brothers: that Holland do endeavour to persuade the King of France to break peace with us: that the Dutch will, without doubt, have sixty sail of ships out the next year; so knows not what will become of us, but hopes the Parliament will find money for us to have a fleet.

7th. Somebody told me this, that they hear that Thomson, with the wooden leg, and Wildman, the Fifth-Monarchy man, a great creature of the Duke of Buckingham's, are in nomination to be Commissioners, among others, upon the Bill of Accounts.

8th. (Lord's day.) To Whitehall, where I saw the Duchess of York, in a fine dress of second mourning for her mother, being black, edged with ermine, go to make her first visit to the Queen since the Duke of York's being sick; and by-and-by, she being returned,

the Queen came and visited h<sup>r</sup>. But it was pretty to observe that Sir W. Coventry and I, walking an hour and more together in the Matted Gallery, he observed, and so did I, how the Duchess, as soon as she spied him, turned her head a one side. Here he and I walked thus long, which we have not done a great while before. Our discourse was upon everything: the unhappiness of having our matters examined by people that understand them not; that it is better for us in the Navy to have men that do understand the whole, and that are not passionate; that we that have taken the most pains are called upon to answer for all crimes, while those that, like Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes, did sit and do nothing, do lie still without any trouble; that, if it were to serve the King and kingdom again in a war, neither of us could do more, though upon this experience we might do better than we did; that the commanders, the gentlemen that could never be brought to order, but undid all, are now the men that find fault and abuse others; that it had been much better for the King to have given Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten £1,000 a year to have sat still, than to have had them in this business of this war: that the serving a prince that minds not his business is most unhappy for them that serve him well, and an unhappiness so great that he declares he will never have more to do with a war under him. That he hath papers which do flatly contradict the Duke of Albemarle's narrative; and that he

hath been with the Duke of Albemarle and showed him them, to prevent his falling into another like fault; that the Duke of Albemarle seems to be able to answer them; but he thinks that the Duke of Albemarle and the prince are contented to let their narratives sleep, they being not only contradictory in some things, as he observed about the business of the Duke of Albemarle's being to follow the prince upon dividing the fleet, in case the enemy come out, but neither of them to be maintained in others. That the business the other night of my Lord Anglesey at the Council was happily got over for my lord by his dexterous silencing it, and the rest not urging it further; forasmuch as, had the Duke of Buckingham come in time enough, and had got it by the end, he would have toused him in it; Sir W. Coventry telling me that my Lord Anglesey did, with such impudence, maintain the quarrel against the Commons and some of the Lords, in the business of my Lord Clarendon, that he believes there are enough would be glad but of this occasion to be revenged of him. He tells me that he hears some of the Thomsons are like to be of the Commission for the Accounts, and Wildman, which he much wonders at, as having been a false fellow to everybody, and in prison most of the time since the King's coming in. But he do tell me that the House is in such a condition that nobody can tell what to make of them, and, he thinks, they were never in before; that everybody leads, and nobody

follows; and that he do now think that, since a great many are defeated in their expectation of being of the Commission, now they would put it into such hands as it shall get no credit from: for if they do look to the bottom and see the King's case, they think they are then bound to give the King money; whereas, they would be excused from that, and therefore endeavour to make this business of the accounts to signify little. Comes Captain Cocke to me; and there he tells me, to my great satisfaction, that Sir Robert Brookes did dine with him to-day; and that he told him, speaking of me, that he would make me the darling of the House of Commons, so much he is satisfied concerning me. And this Cocke did tell me that I might give him thanks for it; and I do think it may do me good, for he do happen to be held a considerable person, for a young man, both for sobriety and ability.

9th. Comes Sir G. Carteret to talk with me, who seems to think himself safe as to his particular, but do doubt what will become of the whole kingdom, things being so broke in pieces. He tells me that the King himself did the other day very particularly tell the whole story of my Lord Sandwich's not following the Dutch ships, with which he is charged; and shows the reasons of it to be the only good course he could have taken, and do discourse it very knowingly. This I am glad of, though, as the King is now his favour, for aught I see, serves very little in stead at this day, but

rather is an argument against a man; and the King do not concern himself to relieve or justify anybody, but is wholly negligent of everybody's concernment. This morning I was troubled with my Lord Hinchinbroke's sending to borrow £200 of me; but I did answer that I had none, nor could borrow any; for I am resolved I will not be undone for anybody, though I would do much for my Lord Sandwich—for it is to answer a bill of exchange of his—but not ruin myself. Called at Cade's, the stationer, where he tells me how my Lord Gerard is troubled for several things in the House of Commons, and in one wherein himself is concerned; and, it seems, this Lord is a very proud and wicked man, and the Parliament is likely to order him.

10th. The King did send a message to the House to-day that he would adjourn them on the 17th instant to February; by which time, at least, I shall have more respite to prepare things on my own behalf and the Office against their return. Met Mr. Hingston, the organist, walking, and I walked with him; and asking him many questions, I do find that he can no more give an intelligible answer to a man that is not a great master in his art than another man. And this confirms me that it is only the want of an ingenious man that is master in music, to bring music to a certainty and ease in composition. I home, having finished my letter to Commissioner Middleton, who is

now coming up to town from Portsmouth, to enter upon his Surveyorship.

11th. Attended the Duke of York, as we are wont, who is now grown pretty well, and goes up and down Whitehall, and this night will be at the Council. Here I met Rolt and Sir John Chichly, and I met Harris, the player, and talked of *Catiline*, which is to be suddenly acted at the King's house : and there all agree that it cannot be well done at that house, there not being good actors enough : and Burt acts Cicero, which they all conclude he will not be able to do well. The King gives them £500 for robes, there being, as they say, to be sixteen scarlet robes. Comes Sir W. Warren to talk about some business of his and mine : and he, I find, would have me not to think that the Parliament, in the mind they are in, and having so many good offices in their view to dispose of, will leave any of the King's officers in, but will rout all, though I am likely to escape as well as any, if any can escape ; and I think he is in the right, and I do look for it accordingly. Comes Sir W. Pen, and he there told me what passed to-day with him in the Committee, by my Lord Sandwich's breaking bulk of the prizes ; and it do seem to me that he hath left it pretty well understood by them, he saying that what my Lord did was done at the desire and with the advice of the chief officers of the fleet, and that it was no more than admirals



heretofore have done in like cases, which, if it be true that he said it, is very well.

12th. To the Duke of York's house, and saw *The Tempest*, and the house very full. But I could take little pleasure more than the play, from not being able to look about for fear of being seen. Here only I saw a French lady in the pit with a tunic, just like one of ours, only a handkerchief about her neck; but this fashion for a woman did not look decent. My book-seller did give me a list of the twenty who were mentioned for the Commission in Parliament for the Accounts; and it is strange that of the twenty the Parliament could not think fit to choose their nine, but were fain to add three that were not in the list of the twenty, they being many of them factious people, and ringleaders in the late troubles; so that Sir John Talbot did fly out and was very hot in the business of Wildman's being named, and took notice how he was entertained in the bosom of the Duke of Buckingham, a Privy-Councillor; and that it was fit to be observed by the House and punished. The men that I know of the nine I like very well; that is Mr. Pierrepont, Lord Brereton, and Sir William Turner; and I do think the rest are so, too: but such as will not be able to do this business as it ought to be, to do any good with. Here I did also see their votes against my Lord Chief Justice Keeling, that his proceedings were illegal, and that he was a contemner of Magna Charta (the great

preserver of our lives, freedom, and properties) and an introduction to arbitrary government: which is very high language, and of the same sound with that in the year 1640. This day my Lord Chancellor's letter was burned at the 'Change.

13th. To Westminster, to the Parliament door to speak with Roger: and here I saw my Lord Keeling go into the House to the Bar, to have his business heard by the whole House to-day; and a great crowd of people to stare upon him. Here I hear that the Lords' Bill for banishing and disabling my Lord Clarendon from bearing any office, or being in the King's dominions, and it being made felony for any to correspond with him but his own children, is brought to the Commons; but they will not agree to it, being not satisfied with that as sufficient, but will have a Bill of Attainder brought in against him: but they make use of this against the Lords, that they, that would not think there was cause enough to commit him without hearing, will have him banished without hearing. By-and-by comes my cousin Roger to me, he being not willing to be in the House at the business of my Lord Keeling, lest he should be called upon to complain against him for his abusing him at Cambridge very wrongfully and shamefully, but not to his reproach, but to the Chief Justice's in the end, when all the world cried shame upon him for it. Among other news, it is now fresh that the King of Portugal

deposed, and his brother made king; and that my Lord Sandwich is gone from Madrid with great honour to Lisbon, to make up, at this juncture, a peace to the advantage, as a Spaniard would have it, of Spain. I wish it may be for my Lord's honour, if it be so; but it seems my Lord is in mighty estimation in Spain. After dinner comes Mr. Moore, and he and I alone a while, he telling me my Lord Sandwich's credit is like to be undone, if the bill of £200 my Lord Hinchinbroke wrote to me about be not paid to-morrow, and that if I do not help him about it, they have no way but to let it be protested. So, finding that Creed has supplied them with £150 in their straits, and that this is no bigger sum, I am very willing to serve my Lord, though not in this kind; but yet I will endeavour to get this done for them, and the rather because of some plate that was lodged the other day with me, by my lady's order, which may be in part of security for my money. This do trouble me; but yet it is good luck that the sum is no bigger. With my cousin Roger to Westminster Hall, and there we met the House rising: and they have voted my Lord Chief Justice Keeling's proceedings illegal; but that, out of particular respect to him, and the mediation of a great many, they have resolved to proceed no further against him.

15th. (Lord's day.) Up, and to church, where I heard a German preach, in a tone hard to be under-

stood, but yet an extraordinary good sermon, and wholly to my great content. Mrs. Turner to visit us, who hath been long sick, and she sat and supped with us—her son Frank being there, now upon the point of his going to the East Indies. I did give him “Lex Mercatoria,” and my wife my old pair of tweezers, which are pretty, and my book an excellent one for him. Most of our talk was of the great discourse the world hath against my Lady Batten, for getting her husband to give her all and disinherit his eldest son; though the truth is, the son, as they say, did play the knave with his father when time was, and the father no great matter better with him, nor with other people also.

16th. To several places to pay what I owed. Among others to my mercer, to pay for my fine camlett cloak, which costs me, the very stuff, almost £6; and also a velvet coat—the outside cost me above £8. And so to Westminster, where I find the House mighty busy upon a petition against my Lord Gerard, which lays heavy things to his charge, of his abusing the King in his Guards; and very hot the House is upon it.

17th. This day I do hear at Whitehall that the Duke of Monmouth is sick and in danger of the small-pox.

18th. To look after the providing of £60 for Mr. Moore, towards the answering of My Lord Sandwich's bill of exchange, he being come to be contented with my lending him £60 in part of it, which pleases me;

and this, which I do do I hope to secure out of the plate, which was delivered into my custody of my Lord's, which I did get Mr. Stokes, the goldsmith, last night to weigh at my house, and there is enough to secure £100.

19th. To the office, where Commissioner Middleton first took his place at the Board as Surveyor of the Navy; and indeed I think will be an excellent officer, I am sure much beyond what his predecessor was. With Sir W. Pen in his coach to Guildhall, to speak with Sheriff Gauden—I only for company; and did here look up and down this place, where I have not been before since the fire; and I see that the city are got on apace in the building of Guildhall. This evening, the King by message, which he never did before, hath passed several bills, among others that for the Accounts, and for banishing my Lord Chancellor; and hath adjourned the House to February; at which I am glad, hoping in this time to get leisure to state my Tangier Accounts, and to prepare better for the Parliament's inquiries. Here I hear how the House of Lords, with great severity, if not tyranny, have proceeded against poor Carr, who only erred in the manner of the presenting his petition against my Lord Gerard, it being first printed before it was presented; which was, it seems, by Colonel Sands's going into the country into whose hands he had put it; the poor man is ordered to stand in the pillory two or three times, and to have

his ears cut, and be imprisoned I know not how long. But it is believed that the Commons, when they meet, will not be well pleased with it; and they have no reason, I think.

20th. To Sir W. Ben's with Sir R. Ford, and there was Sir D. Gauden, and there we only talked of sundry things; and I have found of late, by discourse, that the present sort of government is looked upon as a sort of government that we never had yet—that is to say, a King and House of Commons against the House of Lords; for so indeed it is, though neither of the two first care a fig for one another, nor the third for them both, only the Bishops are afraid of losing ground, as I believe they will. So home to my poor wife, who is in mighty pain, and her face miserably swelled; so as I was frightened to see it.

21st. The Nonconformists are mighty high, and their meetings frequented and connived at; and they do expect to have their day now soon; for my Lord of Buckingham is a declared friend to them, and even to the Quakers, who had very good words the other day from the King himself; and, what is more, the Archbishop of Canterbury is called no more to the Cabal, nor, by the way, Sir W. Coventry; which I am sorry for, the Cabal at present being, as he says, the King, and the Duke of Buckingham, and Lord Keeper, the Duke of Albemarle, and Privy Seal. The Bishops differing from the King in the late business in the

House of Lords, have caused this and what is likely to follow, for everybody is encouraged now-a-days to speak, and even to preach, as I have heard one of them, as bad things against them as ever in the year 1640; which is a strange change. Home to sit with my wife, who is a little better, and her cheek assuaged. I read to her out of "The History of Algiers," which is mighty pretty reading, and did discourse alone about my sister Pall's match, which is now on foot with one Jackson, another nephew of Mr. Phillips's, to whom he hath left his estate.

22nd. (Lord's day.) Up, and my wife, poor wretch, still in pain.

23rd. To the Commissioners of the Treasury, and there I had a dispute before them with Sir Stephen Fox about our orders for money, who is very angry, but I value it not. But, Lord! to see with what folly my Lord Albemarle do speak in this business would make a man wonder at the good fortune of such a fool. I to the Exchange, and there I saw Carr stand in the pillory for the business of my Lord Gerard, which is supposed will make a hot business in the House of Commons, when they shall come to sit again, the Lords having ordered this with great injustice, as all people think, his only fault being his printing his petition before, by accident, his petition be read in the House. I hear by Creed that the Bishops of Winchester and of Rochester, and the Dean of the Chapel, and some other great

prelates, are suspended: and a cloud upon the Archbishop ever since the late business in the House of Lords; and I believe it will be a heavy blow to the clergy. I bought a sermon of Dr. Lloyd's, as well written and as good, against the Church of Rome, as ever I read; but, Lord! how Hollier, poor man, was taken with it. This day, at the 'Change, Creed showed me Mr. Coleman, of whom my wife hath so good an opinion; and says he is as very a rogue for women as any in the world: which did disquiet me, like a fool, and ran in my mind a great while.

24th. By coach to St. James's, it being about six at night: my design being to see the ceremonies, this night being the eve of Christmas, at the Queen's chapel. I got in almost up to the rail, and with a great deal of patience stayed from nine at night to two in the morning, in a very great crowd; and there expected, but found nothing extraordinary, there being nothing but a high mass. The Queen was there and some ladies. But, Lord! what an odd thing it was for me to be in a crowd of people, here a footman, there a beggar, here a fine lady, there a zealous poor papist, and here a Protestant, two or three together, come to see the show. I was afraid of my pocket being picked very much: but all things very rich and beautiful; and I see the papists have the wit, most of them, to bring cushions to kneel on, which I wanted, and was mighty troubled to kneel. All being done,



I was sorry for my coming, and missing of what I expected; which was to have had a child born and dressed there, and a great deal of do: but we broke up, and nothing like it done: and there I left people receiving the Sacrament: and the Queen gone, and ladies, only my Lady Castlemaine, who looked prettily in her night-clothes. So took my coach, which waited, and through Covent Garden, to set down two gentlemen and a lady, who came thither to see also, and did make mighty mirth in their talk of the folly of this religion. Drank some burnt wine at the Rose Tavern door, while the constables came, and two or three bellmen went by.

25th. Being a fine, light, moonshine morning, home round the city, and stopped and dropped money at five or six places, which I was the willinger to do, it being Christmas-day, and so home, and there find my wife in bed, and Jane and the maid making pies. So I to bed. Rose about nine, and to church, and there heard a dull sermon of Mr. Mills, but a great many fine people at church; and so home. Wife and girl and I alone at dinner—a good Christmas dinner. My wife reading to me “The History of the Drummer of Mr. Mompesson,” which is a strange story of spies, and worth reading indeed. In the evening comes Mr. Pelling, and he sat and supped with us; and very good company, he reciting to us many copies of good verses of Dr. Wilde’s, who wrote “Iter Boreale.”

26th. To the "Swan," and by chance met Mr. Spicer and another Chequer clerk and there made them drink. At my bookseller's, and there bought Mr. Hardington's work, "Oceana," &c., and two other books, which cost me 64. Home, and there eat a bit, and then with my wife to the King's playhouse, and there saw *The Surprizall*: which did not please me to-day, the actors not pleasing me; and especially Nell acting of a serious part, which she spoils. I hear this day that Mrs. Stewart do at this day keep a court at Somerset House with her husband the Duke of Richmond, she being visited for her beauty's sake by people, as the Queen is, at nights; and they say also that she is likely to go to Court again, and there put my Lady Castlemaine's nose out of joint.

27th. A Committee of Tangier met: the Duke of York there; and there I did discourse over to them their condition as to money, which they were all mightily, as I could desire, satisfied with, but the Duke of Albemarle, who takes the part of the Guards against us in our supplies of money, which is an odd consideration for a dull, heavy blockhead as he is, understanding no more of either than a goose: but the ability and integrity of Sir W. Coventry, in all the King's governments, I do and must admire. After the Committee, Sir W. Coventry told me how some of his enemies at the Duke of York's had got the Duke of York's commission for the Commissioners of his

estate changed, and he and Brouncker and Povy left out: that this they did do to disgrace him, and imposes upon him at this time; but that he, though he values not the thing, did go and tell the Duke of York what he heard, and that he did not think that he had given him any reason to do this, out of this belief that he would not be as faithful and serviceable to him as the best of those that have got him put out. Whereupon the Duke of York did say that it arose only from his not knowing whether now he would have time to regard his affairs; and that, if he should, he would put him into the commission with his own hand, though the commission be passed. He answered that he had been faithful to him, and done him good service therein, so long as he could attend to it; and if he had been able to have attended it more he would not have enriched himself with such and such estates as my Lord Chancellor hath got, that did properly belong to his Royal Highness, as being forfeited to the King, and so by the King's gift given by the Duke of York. Hereupon the Duke of York did call for the commission, and hath since put him in. He tells me that the business of getting the Duchess of Richmond to Court is broke off, her husband not suffering it! and thereby great trouble is brought among the people that endeavoured it, and thought they had compassed it. And, Lord! to think that at this time the King should mind no other cares but these! He tells me that my

Lord of Canterbury is a mighty stout man, and a man of a brave, high spirit, and cares not for this disfavour that he is under at Court, knowing that the King cannot take away his profits during his life, and therefore do not value it.

28th. To the King's house, and there saw *The Mad Couple*; which is but an ordinary play; but only Nell's and Hart's mad parts are most excellently done, but especially her's: which makes it a miracle to me to think how ill she do any serious part, as the other day, just like a fool or changeling; and, in a mad part do beyond imitation almost. It pleased us mightily to see the natural affection of a poor woman, the mother of one of the children brought on the stage: the child crying, she by force got upon the stage, and took up her child and carried it away off of the stage from Hart. Many fine faces here to-day. I am told to-day, which troubles me, that great complaint is made upon the 'Change, among our merchants, that the very Osterd little pickaroon men-of-war do offer violence to our merchantmen, and search them, beat our masters, and plunder them, upon pretence of carrying Frenchmen's goods.

29th. (Lord's day.) At night comes Mrs. Turner to see us: and there, among other talk, she tells me that Mr. William Pen, who has lately come over from Ireland, is a Quaker again, or some very melancholy thing; that he cares for no company, nor comes into

any; which is a pleasant thing, after his being abroad so long, and his father such a hypocritical rogue, and at this time an Atheist.

30th. Sir G. Carteret and I alone did talk of the ruinous condition we are in, the King being going to put out of the Council so many able men; such as my Lord Anglesey, Ashly, Hollis, Secretary Morrice, to bring in Mr. Trevor, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and my Lord Bridgewater. He tells me that this is true, only the Duke of York do endeavour to hinder it, and the Duke of York did tell him so: that the King and the Duke of York do not in company disagree, but are friendly; but that there is a core in their hearts, he doubts, which is not to be easily removed; for these men so suffer only for their constancy to the Chancellor, or at least from the King's ill-will against him, that they do now all they can to vilify the clergy, and do abuse Rochester [Dolben], and so do raise scandals, all that is possible, against other of the Bishops. He do suggest that something is intended for the Duke of Monmouth, and it may be, against the Queen also; that we are in no manner sure against an invasion the next year: that the Duke of Buckingham do rule all now, and the Duke of York comes indeed to the Cabal, but signifies little there. That this new faction do not endure, nor the King, Sir W. Coventry; but yet that he is so useful that they cannot be without him; but

that he is not now called to the Cabal. That my Lord of Buckingham, Bristol, and Arlington, do seem to agree in these things; but that they do not in their hearts trust one another, but to drive several ways, all of them. In short, he do bless himself that he is no more concerned in matters now; and the hopes he hath of being at liberty, when his accounts are over, to retire into the country. That he do give over the kingdom for wholly lost. Meeting with Mr. Cooling, I with him by coach to the Wardrobe, where I never was since the fire in Hatton Garden: and he tells me that he fears that my Lord Sandwich will suffer much by Mr. Townsend's being untrue to him, he being now unable to give the Commissioners of the Treasury an account of his money received by many thousands of pounds, which I am troubled for. I met with Mr. Cooling at the Temple-gate, after I had been at both my booksellers—and there laid out several pounds in books now against the new year. To Sir G. Carteret's in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, and there did dine together, there being there, among other company, Mr. Attorney Montagu, and his fine lady, a fine woman. After dinner I did understand from my Lady Jemimah that her brother Hinchingbroke's business was to be ended this day, as she thinks, towards his match, and they do talk here of their intent to buy themselves some new clothes against the wedding, which I am very glad of. Thence with Sir Philip

Carteret to the King's playhouse, there to see *Love's Cruelty*, an old play, but which I have not seen before; and in the first act Orange Moll come to me with one of our porters by my house, to tell me that Mrs. Pierce and Knipp did dine at my house to-day, and that I was desired to come home. So I went out presently, and by coach home, and they were gone away: so after a very little stay with my wife, I took coach again, and to the King's playhouse again, and come in the fourth act: and it proves to me a very silly play, and to everybody else, as far as I could judge. But the jest is, that here telling Moll how I had lost my journey, she told me that Mrs. Knipp was in the house, and so shows me to her, and I went to her and sat out the play, and then with her to Mrs. Manuel's where Mrs. Pierce was, and her boy and girl; and here I did hear Mrs. Manuel and one of the Italians, her gallant, sing well. But yet I confess I am not delighted so much with it as to admire it; for not understanding the words, I lose the benefit of the vocalities of the music, and it proves only instrumental; and therefore was more pleased to hear Knipp sing two or three little English things that I understood, though the composition of the other and performance was very fine. Thence to my bookseller's and paid for the books I had bought, and away home, where I told my wife where I had been. But she was as mad as a devil, and nothing

but ill words between us all the evening while we sat at cards—W. Hewer and the girl by—ever to gross ill words, which I was troubled for. But I do see that I must use policy to keep her spirit down, and to give her no offence by my being with Knipp and Pierce, of which, though she will not own it, yet she is heartily jealous. This day I did carry money out and paid several debts. Among others, my tailor, and shoemaker, and draper, S. W. Turner, who began to talk of the Commission of Accounts, wherein he is one; but though they are the greatest people that ever were in the nation and to power, and like to be our judges, yet I did never speak one word to him of desiring favour, or bidding him joy upon it, but did answer him to what he said, and do resolve to stand or fall by my silence, preparing to answer whatever can be laid to me, and that will be my best proceeding, I think. This day I got a little rent in my new fine camlet cloak with the latch of Sir G. Carteret's door; but it is darned up at my tailors, that it will be no great blemish to it; but it troubled me. I could not but observe that Sir Philip Carteret would fain have given me my going into a play; but yet, when he came to the door, he had no money to pay for himself. I having refused to accept of it for myself, but was fain; and I perceive he is known there, and do run upon the score for plays, which is a shame; but



I perceive always he is in want of money. In the pit I met with Sir Chas. North, formerly Mr. North, who was with my Lord at sea; and he of his own accord was so silly as to tell me he is married: and for her quality (being a Lord's daughter, my Lord Grey), and person, and beauty, and years, and estate, and disposition, he is the happiest man in the world. I am sure he is an ugly fellow, but a good scholar and sober gentleman: and heir to his father, now Lord North, the old Lord being dead.

31st. To Whitehall, and there waited a long time, while the Duke of York was with the King in the Cabal, and there I and Creed stayed talking in the Vane-room, and I perceive all people's expectation is, what will be the issue of this great business of putting these great Lords out of the council and power, the quarrel, I perceive, being only their standing against the will of the King in the business of the Chancellor. Anon the Duke of York comes out, and then to a committee of Tangier, where my Lord Middleton did come to-day, and seems to me but a dull, heavy man; but he is a great soldier, and stout, and a needy Lord. He will still keep that poor garrison from ever coming to be worth anything to the King. There dined with me my Uncle Thomas, with a mourning hat-band on, for his daughter Mary. Captain Berryman did give an account, walking in the garden, that there were Irish in the town, up and down, that do labour to entice the

seamen out of the nation by giving them £3 in hand, and promise of 40s. per month, to go into the King of France's service, which is a mighty shame, but yet I believe is true. I did advise with him about my little vessel, the *Maybolt*, which he says will be best for me to sell, though my employing her to Newcastle this winter, and the next spring, for coals, will be a gainful trade, but yet make me great trouble. Thus ends the year, with great happiness to myself, and family as to health and good condition in the world, blessed be God for it! only with great trouble to my mind in reference to the public, there being but little hopes left but that the whole nation must in a very little time be lost, either by troubles at home, the Parliament being dissatisfied, and the King led into unsettled councils by some about him, himself considering little, and divisions growing between the King and Duke of York; or else by foreign invasion, to which we must submit if any, at this bad point of time, should come upon us, which the King of France is well able to do. These thoughts and some cares trouble me, concerning my standing in this office when the Committee of Parliament shall come to examine our Navy matters, which they will now shortly do. I pray God they may do the kingdom service therein, as they will have sufficient opportunity of doing it:

*January 1st, 1668.* Dined with my Lord Crewe, with whom was Mr. Browne, Clerk of the House of

Lords, and Mr. John Crewe. Here was mighty good discourse, as there is always: and among other things my Lord Crewe did turn to a place in the life of Sir Philip Sidney, wrote by Sir Fulke Greville, which do foretell the present condition of this nation, in relation to the Dutch, to the very degree of a prophecy; and is so remarkable that I am resolved to buy one of them, it being quite throughout a good discourse. Here they did talk much of the present cheapness of corn, even to a miracle; so as their farmers can pay no rent, but do fling up their lands, and would pay in corn: but, which I did observe to my Lord, and he liked well of it, our gentry are grown so ignorant in everything of good husbandry that they know not how to bestow this corn: which did they understand but a little trade, they would be able to join together, and know what markets there are abroad and send it thither, and thereby ease their tenants and be able to pay themselves. They did talk much of the disgrace the Archbishop is fallen under with the King, and the rest of the Bishops also. Thence I after dinner to the Duke of York's playhouse, and there saw *Sir Martin Mar-all*, which I have seen so often, and yet am mightily pleased with it, and think it mighty witty, and the fullest of proper matter for mirth that ever was writ; and I do clearly see that they do improve in their acting of it. Here a mighty company of citizens, 'prentices, and others; and it makes me observe, that when I began first to be able

to bestow a play on myself, I do not remember that I saw so many by half of the ordinary 'prentices and mean people in the pit at 2<sup>d</sup> 6d. a-piece as now; I going for several years no higher than the 12d. and then the 18d. places, though I strained hard to go in when I did: so much the vanity and prodigality of the age is to be observed in this particular. Thence I to Whitehall, and there walked up and down the house awhile, and do hear nothing of anything done further in this business of the change of Privy-counsellors: only I hear that Sir G. Savile, one of the Parliament Committee of nine, for examining the accounts, is by the King made a Lord, the Lord Halifax, which, I believe, will displease the Parliament. By-and-by I met with Mr. Brisband; and having it in my mind this Christmas to do what I never can remember that I did, go to see the gaming at the Groom-Porter's, I having in my coming from the playhouse stepped into the two Temple-halls, and there saw the dirty 'prentices and idle people playing; wherein I was mistaken in thinking to have seen gentlemen of quality playing there, as I think it was when I was a little child, that one of my father's servants, John Bassum, I think, carried me in his arms thither. I did tell Brisband of it, and he did lead me thither, where, after staying an hour, they began to play at about eight at night, where to see how differently one man took his losing from another, one cursing and swearing, and another only muttering

and grumbling to himself, a third without any apparent discontent at all: to see how the dice will run good luck in one hand for half-an-hour together, and another have no good luck at all: to see how easily here, where they play nothing but guineas, a £100 is won or lost: to see two or three gentlemen come in there drunk, and putting their stock of gold together, one 22 pieces, the second 4, and the third 5 pieces; and these two play one with another, and forget how much each of them brought, but he that brought the 22 thinks that he brought no more than the rest: to see the different humours of gamesters to change their luck, when it is bad, how ceremonious they are to call for new dice, to shift their places, to alter their manner of throwing, and that with great industry, as if there was anything in it: to see how some old gamesters, that have no money now to spend as formerly, do come and sit and look on, and among others, Sir Lewis Dives, who was here, and hath been a great gamester in his time: to hear their cursing and damning to no purpose, as one man being to throw a seven if he could, and, failing to do it after a great many throws, cried he would be d—d if ever he flung seven more while he lived, his despair of throwing it being so great, while others did it as their luck served almost every throw: to see how persons of the best quality do here sit down and play with people of any, though meaner; and to see how people in ordinary clothes shall come hither, and play

away 100, 200 or 300 guineas, without any kind of difficulty : and lastly, to see the formality of the groom-porter, who is their judge of all disputes in play and all quarrels that may arise therein, and how his under-officers are there to observe true play at each table, and to give new dice, is a consideration I never could have thought had been in the world had I not now seen it. And mighty glad I am that I did see it, and it may be will find another evening before Christmas be over to see it again, when I may stay later, for their heat of play begins not till about eleven or twelve o'clock ; which did give me another pretty observation of a man that did win mighty fast when I was there. I think he won £100 at single pieces in a little time. While all the rest envied him his good fortune, he cursed it, saying, "it come so early upon me, for this fortune two hours hence would be worth something to me, but then I shall have no such luck." This kind of profane, mad entertainment they give themselves. And so I, having enough for once, refusing to venture, though Brisband pressed me hard, and tempted me with saying that no man was ever known to lose the first time, the devil being too cunning to discourage a gamester ; and he offered me also to lend me ten pieces to venture ; but I did refuse, and so went away.

2nd. Attended the King and the Duke of York in the Duke of York's lodgings, with the rest of the officers and

many of the commanders of the fleet and some of our master shipwrights, to discourse the business of having the topmasts of ships made to lower abaft of the mainmast; a business I understand not, and so can give no good account; but I do see that by how much greater the Council, and the number of counsellors is, the more confused the issue is of their councils; so that little was said to the purpose regularly, and but little use was made of it, they coming to a very broken conclusion upon it, to make trial in a ship or two. From this they fell to other talk about the fleet's fighting this late war, and how the King's ships have been shattered; though the King said that the world would not have it that above ten or twenty ships in any fight did do any service, and that this hath been told so to him himself by ignorant people. The Prince, who was there, was mightily surprised at it and seemed troubled; but the King told him that it was only discourse of the world. But Mr. Wren whispered me in the ear, and said that the Duke of Albemarle had put it into his Narrative for the House, that not above twenty-five ships fought in the engagement wherein he was, but that he was advised to leave it out; but this he did write from sea, I am sure, or words to that effect: and did displease many commanders, among others, Captain Batts, who the Duke of York said was a very stout man, all the world knew; and that another was brought into his ship that had been turned out of his place when he

was a boatswain not long before for being a drunkard. This the Prince took notice of, and would have been angry, I think, but they let their discourse fall: but the Duke of York was earnest in it. And the Prince said to me, standing by me, "If they will turn out every man that will be drunk, they must turn out all the commanders in the fleet. What is the matter if he be drunk, so as when he comes to fight he do his work? At least, let him be punished for his drunkenness, and not put out of his command presently." This he spoke, very much concerned for this idle fellow, one Green. After this the King began to tell stories of the cowardice of the Spaniards in Flanders when he was there at the siege of Mardike and Dunkirk, which was very pretty, though he tells them but meanly. To Westminster Hall, and there stayed a little: and then home, and by the way did find with difficulty the "Life of Sir Philip Sidney." And the bookseller told me that he had sold four within this week or two, which is more than ever he sold in all his life of them, and he could not imagine what should be the reason of it: but I suppose it is from the same reason of people's observing of this part therein, touching his prophesying our present condition here in England in relation to the Dutch, which is very remarkable. I took my wife and girl out to the New Exchange, and there my wife bought herself a lace for a handkerchief, which I do give her, of about £3, for a New Year's gift, and I did



buy also a lace for a band for myself. This day my wife shows me a locket of diamonds worth about £40, which W. Hewer do press her to accept, and hath done for a good while, out of gratitude for my kindness and her's to him. But I do not like that she should receive it, it not being honourable for me to do it; and so do desire her to force him to take it back again, he leaving it against her will yesterday with her. And she did this evening force him to take it back, at which she says he is troubled; but, however, it becomes me more to refuse it, than to let her accept of it. It is generally believed that France is endeavouring a firmer league with us than the former, in order to his going on with his business against Spain the next year; which I am, and so everybody else is, I think, very glad of, for all our fear is of his invading us. This day at Whitehall, I overheard Sir W. Coventry propose to the King his ordering of some particular thing in the Wardrobe which was of no great value; but yet, as much as it was, it was of profit to the King and saving to his purse. The King answered to it with great indifference, as a thing that it was no great matter whether it was done or no. Sir W. Coventry answered: "I see your Majesty do not remember the old English proverb, 'He that will not stoop for a pin will never be worth a pound.'" And so they parted, the King bidding him do as he would, which, methought, was an answer not like a King that did intend ever to do well.

4th. It seems worth remembering that this day I hear my Lord Anglesey at the table speaking touch this new Act for Accounts, say that the House of Lords did pass it because it was a senseless, impracticable, ineffectual, and foolish Act; and that my Lord Ashly having shown that it was so to the House of Lords, the Duke of Buckingham did stand up and told the Lords that they were beholden to my Lord Ashly, that having first commended them for a grave and honourable assembly, he thought it fit for the House to pass this Act for Accounts because it was a foolish and simple Act: and it seems it was passed with but a few in the House, when it was intended to have met in a grand Committee upon it. And it seems that in itself it is not to be practiced till the end of this session of Parliament, by the very words of the Act, which nobody regarded, and therefore it cannot come in force yet, unless at the next meeting they make a new Act for the bringing it into force soon, which is a strange omission. But I perceive my Lord Anglesey do make a mere laughing-stock of this as a thing that can do nothing considerable, for all great noise.

5th. (Lord's day.) The business of putting out some of the Privy Council is over, the King being last advised to forbear it; for whereas he did design to make room for some of the House of Commons against him, thereby to gratify them, it is belie-

that it will but so much the more fret the rest that are not provided for, and raise a new stock of enemies by them that are displeased : and it goes for a pretty saying of my Lord Anglesey's up and down the Court, that he should lately say to one of the great promoters of this putting him and others out of the Council, " Well, and what are we to look for when we are outed ? Will all things be set right in the nation ? " The other said that he did believe that many things would be mended. " But," says my Lord, " will you and the rest of you be contented to be hanged, if you do not redeem all our misfortunes and set all right, if the power be put into your hands ? " The other answered, " No, I would not undertake that. " " Why, then," says my Lord, " I and the rest of us that you are labouring to put out will be contented to be hanged if we do not recover all that is past, if the King will put the power into our hands and adhere wholly to our advice. " Intending to go home, my Lady Carteret saw and called to me out of her window, and so would have me home with her to Lincoln's-Inn-Fields to dinner, and there we met with my Lord Brereton, and several other strangers to dine there ; and I find him a very sober and serious, able man, and was in discourse too hard for the Bishop of Chester, and who, above all books, lately wrote commending the matter and style of a late book, called " The Causes of the Decay of Piety. " I do resolve at his great commendation to buy it. Here

dined also Sir Philip Howard, a Berkshire Howard, He did take occasion to tell me at the table that I have got great ground in the Parliament by my ready answers to all that was asked me there about the business of Chatham, and they should never let me be out of employment, of which I made little; but was glad to hear him as well as others say it. And he did say also, relating to Commissioner Pett, that he did not think that he was guilty of anything like a fault, that he was either able or concerned to amend, but only the not carrying up of the ships higher, he meant; but he said, three or four miles lower down to Rochester Bridge, which is a strange piece of ignorance in a Member of Parliament; and did boldly declare that he did think the fault to lie in my Lord Middleton, who had the power of the place, to secure the boats that were made ready by Pett, and to do anything that he thought fit. After dinner, my Lord Brereton very genteelly went to the organ and played a verse very handsomely. Thence to Whitehall, and there up and down the House, and on the Queen's side to see the ladies, and there saw the Duchess of York, whom few pay the respect they used, I think, to her; but she bears all out, with a very great deal of greatness: that is the truth of it. And so, it growing night, I away home by coach.

6th. Up, leaving my wife to get herself ready, and the maids to get a supper ready against night for our

company; and to Whitehall, and there met with Mr. Pierce, by whom I find, as I was afraid from the folly of my wife, that he understood that he and his wife was to dine at my house to-day, whereas it was to sup; and therefore I did go home to dinner, and there find Mr. Harris, by the like mistake, come to dine with me. However, we did get a pretty dinner ready for him; and there he and I to discourse of many things, and I do find him a very excellent person such as in my whole [acquaintance] I do not know another better qualified for converse, whether in things of his own trade, or of other kind, a man of great understanding and observation, and very agreeable in the manner of his discourse, and civil as far as is possible. I was mightily pleased with his company; and after dinner, did take coach with him, and my wife and girl, to go to a play, to carry him thence to his own house. Away to the Duke of York's house, in the pit, and so left my wife; and to Mrs. Pierce, and took her and her cousin Corbet, Knipp and little James, and brought them to the Duke's house; and the house being full, was forced to carry them to a box, which did cost me 20s., besides oranges, which troubled me, though their company did please me. Thence, after the play, stayed till Harris was undressed, there being acted *The Tempest*, and so he withal, all by coach home, where we had my house with good fires and candles ready, and our office the like, and the two Mercers, and Betty Turner, Pembleton,

and W. Batelier. And so with much pleasure we in the house, and there fell to dancing, having extraordinary music, two violins and a bass violin, a theorb, four hands, the Duke of Buckingham's mus the best in town, sent me to Greeing, and there set in to dancing. By-and-by to my house, to a ve good supper, and mighty merry, and good music pl ing; and after supper to dancing and singing till ab twelve at night; and then we had a good sack pos for them and an excellent cake, cost me near 20s., our Jane's making, which was cut into twenty piec there being by this time so many of our company, the coming in of young Goodyer and some others our neighbours, young men that could dance, heari of our dancing: and anon comes in Mrs. Turner, t mother, and brings with her Mrs. Hollworthy, whi pleased me mightily. And so to dancing again, a singing, with extraordinary great pleasure, till ab two in the morning, and then broke up; and M Pierce and her family, and Harris and Knipp by coa home, as late as it was. And they gone, I took M Turner and Hollworthy home to my house, and the gave wine and sweetmeats, but I find Mrs. Hollwort but a mean woman, I think, for understanding, only little conceited, and proud, and talking, but nothin extraordinary in person, or discourse, or understandin They being gone I paid the fiddlers £3 among t four, and so away to bed.

7th. To the Nursery; but the house did not act to-day; and so I to the other two playhouses into the pit, to gaze up and down, and there did by this means, for nothing, see an act in *The School of Compliments* at the Duke of York's house, and *Henry the Fourth* at the King's house; but not liking either of the plays, I took my coach again, and home.

8th. To Whitehall, and by coach home, taking up Mr. Prin at the Court-gate, it raining, and setting him down at the Temple: and by the way did ask him about the manner of holding of Parliaments, and whether the number of knights and burgesses were always the same? And he says that the latter were not; but that, for aught he can find, they were sent up at the discretion, at first, of the sheriffs, to whom the writs are sent, to send up generally the burgesses and citizens of their county: and he do find that heretofore the Parliament-men, being paid by the country, several boroughs have complained of the sheriffs putting them to the charge of sending up burgesses; which is a very extraordinary thing to me, that knew not this, but thought that the number had been known and always the same.

9th. Mr. Hollier came and dined with me, and it is still mighty pleasant to hear him talk of Rome and the Pope, with what hearty zeal and hatred he talks against him. Wrote to my father about lending Anthony Joyce the money he desires; and I declare that I would

do it as part of Pall's portion, and that Pall should have the use of the money till she be married, but I do propose to him to think of Mr. Cumberland rather than this Jackson that he is upon; and I confess that I have a mighty mind to have a relation so able a man, and honest, and so old an acquaintance as Mr. Cumberland. I shall hear his answer by the next [post].

10th. To Whitehall, and there to wait on the Duke of York with the rest of my brethren, which we did a little in the King's green-room, while the King was in Council: and in this room we found my Lord Bristol walking alone; which, wondering at, while the Council was sitting, I was answered that, as being a Catholic, he could not be of the Council, which I did not consider before. This morning there was a Persian in that country dress, with a turban, waiting to kiss the King's hand in the vane-room against he came out: he was a comely man as to features, and his dress, methinks, very comely. To my new bookseller's, Martin's; and there did meet with Fournier, the Frenchman, that hath wrote of the Sea Navigation, and I could not but buy him, and also bespoke an excellent book, which I met with there, of China. The truth is, I have bought a great many books lately to a great value; but I think to buy no more till Christmas next, and those that I have will so fill my two presses, that I must be forced to give away some, or make room for them, it being my design to have no more at any time for my proper



library than to fill them. This day I received a letter from my father, and another from my cousin Roger Pepys, who have had a view of Jackson's evidences of his estates, and do mightily like of the man, and his condition and estate, and do advise me to accept of the match for my sister, and to finish it as soon as I can; and he do it so as, I confess, I am contented to have it done, and so give her her portion; and so I shall be eased of one care how to provide for her.

11th. Talking with my wife in bed about Pall's business, and she do conclude to have her married here, and to be merry at it; and to have W. Hewer, and Batelier, and Mercer, and Willett, bridemen and bride-maids, and to be very merry; and so I am glad of it, and do resolve to let it be done as soon as I can. To the King's house, to see *The Wild-Goose Chase*. In this play I met with nothing extraordinary at all, but very dull inventions and designs. Knipp came and sat by us, and her talk pleased me a little, she telling me how Miss Davis is for certain going away from the Duke's house, the King being in love with her; and a house is taken for her, and furnishing; and she hath a ring given her already worth £600: that the King did send several times for Nelly, and she was with him; and I am sorry for it, and can hope for no good to the State from having a Prince so devoted to his pleasure. She told me also of a play shortly coming upon the stage, of Sir Charles Sedley's which, she thinks, will

be called *The Wandering Ladies*, a comedy that she thinks will be most pleasant; and also another play, called *The Duke of Loraine*; besides *Catiline*, which she thinks, for want of the clothes which the King promised them, will not be acted for a good while.

12th. (Lord's day.) Went to church, where first I saw Alderman Blackwell and his lady come to our church, they living in Mark Lane; and I could find in my heart to invite her to sit with us, she being a fine lady. I come in while they were singing the 119th Psalm, while the sexton was gathering to his box, to which I did give 5s.

13th. With Sir W. Pen to Whitehall, and there did with the rest attend the Duke of York, where nothing extraordinary; only I perceive there is nothing yet declared for the next year what fleet shall be abroad.

14th. To my bookseller, Martin, and there did receive my book I expected of China, a most excellent book with rare cuts; and there fell into discourse with him about the burning of Paul's when the City was burned, his house being in the churchyard. And he tells me that it took fire first upon the end of a board that, among others, was laid upon the roof instead of lead, the lead being broke off, and thence down lower and lower; but that the burning of the goods under St. Faith's arose from the goods taking fire in the churchyard, and so got into St. Faith's church; and that they first took fire from the Draper's side, by some

timber of the houses that were burned falling into the church. He says that one warehouse of books was saved under Paul's; and there were several dogs found burned among the goods in the churchyard, and but one man, which was an old man, that said he would go and save a blanket which he had in the church, and, being weak, the fire overcame him. He says that most of the booksellers do design to fall a-building again the next year; but that the Bishop of London do use them most basely, worse than any other landlords, and says he will be paid to this day the rent, or else he will not come to treat with them for the time to come; and will not, on that condition either, promise them in any thing how he will use them; and the Parliament sitting, he claims his privilege, and will not be cited before the Lord Chief Justice, as others are there, to be forced to a fair dealing. Thence by coach to Mrs. Pierce's, where my wife is; and there they fell to discourse of the last night's work at Court, where the ladies and the Duke of Monmouth and others acted *The Indian Emperor*: wherein they told me these things most remarkable: that not any woman but the Duchess of Monmouth and Mrs. Cornwallis did anything but like fools and stocks, but that these two did do most extraordinary well: that not any man did anything well but Captain O'Bryan, who spoke and did well, but, above all things, did dance most incomparably. That she did sit near the players of the Duke's house;

among the rest, Miss Davis, who is the most impertinent slut, she says, in the world; and the more, now the King do show her countenance, and is reckoned his mistress, even to the scorn of the whole world; the King gazing on her, and ~~mr~~ Lady Castlemaine being melancholy and out of humour, all the play, not smiling once. The King, it seems, hath given her a ring of £700, which she shows to everybody, and owns that the King did give it her; and he hath furnished a house in Suffolk Street most richly for her, which is a most infinite shame. It seems she is a bastard of my Lord Berkshire, and that he hath got her for the King; but Pierce says that she is a most homely jade as ever she saw, though she dances beyond anything in the world. She tells me that the Duchess of Richmond do not yet come to the Court, nor hath seen the King, nor will come, nor do he own his desire of seeing her; but hath used means to get her to Court, but they do not take. I to my chamber, having a great many books brought me home from my bookbinder's, and so I to the new setting of my books against the next year, which costs me more trouble than I expected and at it till two o'clock in the morning.

15th. Up and to the office, where all the morning. At noon home to dinner, and then to the office again, where we met about some business of D. Gauden's till candle-light; and then, as late as it was, I down to Redriffe, and so walked by moonlight to Deptford,

where I have not been a great while. And so walked back again, but with pleasure by the walk, and I had the sport to see two boys swear, and stamp, and fret. for not being able to get their horses over a stile and ditch, one of them swearing and cursing most bitterly; and I would, vain, in revenge, have persuaded him to have drove his horse through the ditch, by which I believe he would have stuck there. But the horse would not be drove, and so they were forced to go back again, and so I walked away homeward, and there reading all the evening, and so to bed. This afternoon my Lord Anglesey tells us that it is voted in Council to have a fleet of fifty ships out; but it is only a disguise for the Parliament to get some money by; but it will not take, I believe.

16th. Lord Anglesey tells us again that a fleet is to be set out; and that it is generally, he hears, said that it is but a Spanish rhodomontado; and that he saying so just now to the Duke of Albemarle, who came to town last night, after the thing was ordered, he told him a story of two seamen; one wished all the guns of the ship were his, and that they were silver; and says the other, "You are a fool, for if you can have it for wishing, why do you not wish them gold?" "So," says he, "if a rhodomontado will do any good, why do you not say 100 ships?" And it is true; for the Dutch and

French are said to make such preparations as fifty sail will do no good. Mightily pleased with Mr. Gibson's talking; he telling me so many good stories relating to the war and practices of commanders, which I will find a time to recollect; and he will be an admirable help to my writing a history of the Navy, if ever I do.

17th. Much discourse of the duel yesterday between the Duke of Buckingham, Holmes, and one Jenkins on one side, and my Lord of Shrewsbury, Sir John Talbot, and one Bernard Howard, on the other side: and all about my Lady Shrewsbury, who is at this time, and hath for a great while been, a mistress to the Duke of Buckingham. And so her husband challenged him, and they met yesterday in a close near Barne-Elms, and there fought: and my Lord Shrewsbury is run through the body, from the right breast through the shoulder: and Sir John Talbot all along up one of his arms; and Jenkins killed upon the place, and the rest all in a little measure wounded. This will make the world think that the King hath good counsellors about him, when the Duke of Buckingham, the greatest man about him is a fellow of no more sobriety than to fight about a mistress. And this may prove a very bad accident to the Duke of Buckingham, but that my Lady Castlemaine do rule all at this time as much as ever she did, and she will, it is believed, keep all matters well with

the Duke of Buckingham: though this is the time that the King will be very backward, I suppose, to appear in such a business. And it is pretty to hear how the King had some notice of this challenge a week or two ago, and did give it to my Lord General to confine the Duke, to take security that he should not do any such thing as fight: and the General trusted to the King, that he, sending for him would do it, and the King trusted to the General; and so between them both, as everything else of greatest moment do, do fall between two stools. The whole House full of nothing but the talk of this business; and it is said that my Lord Shrewsbury's case is to be feared that he may die too; and that may make it much worse for the Duke of Buckingham: and I shall not be much sorry for it, that we may have some sober man come in his room to assist in the Government. Creed tells me of Mr. Harry Howard's giving the Royal Society a piece of ground next to his house to build a college on, which is a most generous act. And he tells me he is a very fine person, and understands and speaks well: and no rigid Papist neither, but one that would not have a Protestant servant leave his religion, which he was going to do, thinking to recommend himself to his master by it; saying that he had rather have an honest Protestant than a knavish Catholic. I was not called into the Council; and therefore home, first informing

myself that my Lord Hinchinbroke hath been married this week to my Lord Burlington's daughter; so that, that great business is over; and I am mighty glad of it, though I am not satisfied that I have not a favour sent me, as I see Attorney Montagu and the Vice-Chamberlain have.

18th. To the 'Change where I bought "The Maiden Queen," a play newly printed, which I like at the King's house so well, of Mr. Dryden's, which he himself, in his preface seems to brag of, and indeed is a good play.

19th. (Lord's day.) To Redriffe, and so walked to Deptford, where I sent for Shish out of the church, to advise about my vessel, *The Maybolt*, and I do resolve to sell presently, for anything rather than keep her longer, having already lost £100 in her value, which I was once offered and refused, and the ship left without anybody to look to her, which vexes me. Mr. Pelling tells me that my Lord Shrewsbury is likely to do well. Mr. Jessop is made Secretary to the Commissions of Parliament for Accounts; and I am glad, and it is pretty to see that all the Cavalier party were not able to find the Parliament nine Commissioners, or one Secretary, fit for the business.

20th. To Drumblety's, the pipe-maker, there to advise about the making of a flageolet to go low and soft; and he do show me a way which do do, and also a fashion of having two pipes of the same note



fastened together, so as I can play on one and then echo it upon the other, which is mighty pretty. So to my Lord Crewe's to dinner, where we hear all the good news of our making a league now with Holland against the French power coming over them, or us: which is the first good act that the King hath done a great while, and hath done secretly and with great seeming wisdom; and is certainly good for us at this time, while we are in no condition to resist the French if they should come over hither; and then a little time of peace will give us time to lay up something which these Commissioners of the Treasury are doing; and the world do begin to see that they will do the King's work for him if he will let them. Here dined Mr. Case, the minister, who, Lord! do talk just as I remember he used to preach, and did tell us a pretty story of a religious lady, Queen of Navarre; and my Lord also told a good story of Mr. Newman, the minister in New England, who wrote the "Concordance," of his foretelling his death and preaching a funeral sermon, and at last bid the angels do their office, and died. It seems there is great presumption that there will be a Toleration granted, so that the Presbyterians do hold up their heads; but they will hardly trust the King or the Parliament what to yield them, though most of the sober party be for some kind of allowance to be given them. Lord Gerard is likely to meet with ill, the next sitting of Parliament,

about Carr being set in the pillory, and I am glad of it; and it is mighty acceptable to the world to hear that among other reductions, the King do reduce his Guards, which do please mightily.

21st. Comes news from Kate Joyce that if I would see her husband alive, I must come presently. So I to him, and find his breath rattled in his throat; and they did lay pigeons to his feet, and all despair of him. It seems, on Thursday last, he went, sober and quiet, to Islington, and behind one of the inns, the "White Lion," did fling himself into a pond: was spied by a poor woman, and got out by some people and set on his head and got to life: and so his wife and friends sent for. He confessed his doing the thing, being led by the devil; and do declare his reason to be, his trouble in having forgot to serve God as he ought since he came to his new employment: and I did believe that, and the sense of his great loss by the fire, did bring him to it; for he grew sick, and worse and worse to this day. The friends that were there, being now in fear that the goods and estate would be seized on, though he lived all this while, because of his endeavouring to drown himself, my cousin did endeavour to remove what she could of plate out of the house, and desired me to take my flacons; which I did, but in great fear all the way of being seized; though there was no reason for it, he not being dead. So,

with D. Gauden to Guildhall, to advise with the town-clerk about the practice of the City and nation in this case: and he thinks that it cannot be found self-murder; but if it be, it will fall, all the estate, to the King. So I to my cousin's again; where I no sooner come but find that her husband was departed. So at their entreaty, I presently to Whitehall and there find Sir W. Coventry: and he carried me to the King, the Duke of York being with him, and there told my story which I had told him: and the King, without more ado, granted that if it was found, the estate should be to the widow and children. I presently to each secretary's office, and there left *caveats*, and so away back to my cousin's, leaving a chimney on fire at Whitehall, in the King's closet, but no danger. And so, when I come thither, I find her all in sorrow, but she and the rest mightily pleased with my doing this for them; and which, indeed, was a very great courtesy, for people are looking out for the estate.

22nd. At noon with my Lord Brouncker to Sir D. Gauden's, at the Victualling Office, to dinner, where I had not dined since he was sheriff. He expected us; and a good dinner and much good company; and a fine house, and especially two rooms, very fine, he hath built there. His lady a good lady; but my Lord led himself and me to a great absurdity in kissing all the ladies but the finest of all the company,

burying her out, I know not why; and I was loath to do it, since he omitted it. Here little Chaplin dined, who is like to be sheriff the next year; and a pretty humoured little man he is: and Mr. Talents, the younger, of Magdalene College, chaplain to the church, which I was glad to see, though not much acquainted with him. Thence stole away to my cousin Knave's, and there find the coroner's jury sitting, but they could not end it, but put off the business till Shrove Tuesday next, and so do give way to the burying of him, and that is all; but they offered not to find it a natural death, though there are many good people to have it go otherwise, thinking of his estate, but are mistaken. Thence, after sitting with her and company a while, comforting her though I can find she can, as all other women, cry and yet talk of other things all in a breath, home: and come to cards with my wife, Deb., and Betty Turner, and Baudier, and after supper late to sing. But how did I please myself to make Betty Turner sing, to see what a beast she is as to singing, not knowing how to sing one note in tune; but, only for the experiment, I would not for 40s. hear her sing a tune worse than my wife a thousand times, so that I am a little reconciled to her.

April 2. In the office all the morning; and at noon in the Bishop of Lincoln come to dine with us; and after him comes Mr. Brishand: and there mighty

good company. But the bishop a very extraordinary good-natured man, and one that is mightily pleased, as well as I am, that I live so near Bugden, the seat of his bishopric, where he is like to reside: and, indeed, I am glad of it. In discourse, we think ourselves safe for this year by this league with Holland, which pleases everybody, and they say, vexes France; insomuch that D'Estrades, the French ambassador in Holland, when he heard it, told the States that he would have them not forget that his master is at the head of 100,000 men, and is but twenty-eight years old; which was a great speech. The bishop tells me he thinks that the great business of Toleration will not, notwithstanding this talk, be carried this Parliament; nor for the King's taking away the Deans' and Chapters' lands to supply his wants, they signifying little to him, if he had them, for his present service. To Mrs. Turner's, where my wife, and Deb., and I, and Batelier spent the night, and supped, and played at cards, and very merry. She is either a very prodigal woman, or richer than she would be thought, by her buying of the best things, and laying out much money in new-fashioned pewter; and, among other things, a new-fashioned case for a pair of snuffers, which is very pretty; but I could never have guessed what it was for had I not seen the snuffers in it.

24th. Carried my wife to the Temple, and then she

to a play, and I to St. Andrew's Church, in Holborn, at the 'Quest House, where the company meets to the burial of my cousin Joyce; and here I stayed with a very great rabble of four or five hundred people of mean condition, and I stayed in the room with the kindred till ready to go to church, where there is to be a sermon of Dr. Stillingfleet, and thence they carried him to St. Sepulchre's. But it being late, and, indeed, not having a black cloak to lead Kate Joyce with, or follow the corpse, I away, and saw, indeed, a very great press of people follow the corpse. I to the King's playhouse to fetch my wife, and there saw the best part of *The Maiden Queen*, which the more I see the more I love, and think one of the best plays I ever saw, and is certainly the best acted of anything ever the house did, and particularly Becke Marshall, to admiration. Found my wife and Deb., and saw many fine ladies, and sat by Colonel Reames, who understands and loves a play as well as I, and I love him for it. And so thence home; and after being at the office, I home to supper and to bed, my eyes being very bad again with overworking with them.

25th. At noon to the 'Change with Mr. Hater, and there he and I to a tavern to meet Captain Minors, which we did, and dined; and there happened to be Mr. Prichard, a ropemaker of his acquaintance, and whom I know also, and did once mistake for a fiddler,

which sung well, and I asked for such a song that I had heard him sing.

26th. (Lord's day.) Up, and with my wife to church, and at noon home to dinner. No strangers there; and all the afternoon and evening very late doing serious business of my Tangier accounts, and examining my East India accounts with Mr. Poynter, whom I employed all this day to transcribe it fair; and so to supper, W<sup>r</sup> Hewer with us, and the girl to comb my head till I slept, and then to bed.

27th. Mr. Povey do tell me how he is like to lose his £400 a-year pension of the Duke of York, which he took in consideration of his place that was taken from him. He tells me the Duchess is a devil against him, and do now come like Queen Elizabeth, and sits with the Duke of York's Council and sees what they do; and she crosses out this man's wages and prices, as she sees fit, for saving money; but yet, he tells me, she reserves £5,000 a-year for her own spending; and my Lady Peterborough, by-and-by, tells me that the Duchess do lay up, mightily, jewels. Thence to my Lady Peterborough's, she desiring to speak with me. She loves to be taken dressing herself, as I always find her; and there, after a little talk, to please her, about her husband's pension, which I do not think he will ever get again, I away thence home.

28th. With W. Griffin, talking about getting a place to build a coach-house or to hire one, for it is plainly

for my benefit for saving money. To Whitehall; and by-and-by the Duke of York comes, and we had a little meeting, Anglesey, W. Pen, and I there, and none else: and, among other things, did discourse of the want of discipline in the fleet, which the Duke of York confessed, and yet said that he, while he was there, did keep it in a good measure, but that it was now lost when he was absent; but he will endeavour to have it again. That he did tell the Prince and Duke of Albemarle they would lose all order by making such and such commanders, which they would, because they were stout men; he told them it was a reproach to the nation, as if there were no sober men among us that were stout to be had. That they did put out some men for cowards that the Duke of York had put in but little before for stout men; and would now, were he to go to sea again, entertain them in his own division, to choose: and did put in an idle fellow, Green, who was hardly thought fit for a boatswain by him: they did put him from being a lieutenant to a captain's place of a second-rate ship: as idle a drunken fellow, he said, as any was in the fleet. That he will now desire the King to let him be what he is, that is Admiral; and he will put in none but those that he hath great reason to think well of: and particularly says, that, though he likes Colonel Legg well, yet his son that was, he knows not how, made a captain after he had been but one voyage at sea, he should go to sea



another apprenticeship before ever he gives him a command. We did tell him of the many defects and disorders among the captains, and I prayed we might do it in writing to him, which he liked; and I am glad of an opportunity of doing it. My wife this day hears from her father and mother; they are in France, at Paris: he, poor good man, thankful for my small charities to him. I could be willing to do something for them, were I sure not to bring them over again hither. Coming home, my wife and I went and saw Kate Joyce, who is still in mighty sorrow, and the more from something that Dr. Stillingfleet should simply say in his sermon, of her husband's manner of dying, as killing himself.

29th. To Sir W. Coventry. He tells me he hath no friends in the whole Court but my Lord Keeper and Sir John Duncomb. They have reduced the charges of Ireland about £70,000 a-year, and thereby cut off good profits from my Lord Lieutenant; which will make a new enemy, but he cares not. He tells me that Townsend, of the Wardrobe, is the veriest knave and buffhead that ever he saw in his life, and wonders how my Lord Sandwich come to trust such a fellow, and that now Reams and — are put in to be overseers there, and do great things, and have already saved a great deal of money in the King's liveries, and buy linen so cheap, that he will have them buy the next cloth he hath for shirts. But then this is with ready

money, which answers all. This evening come Betty Turner, and the two Mercers, and W. Batelier, and they had fiddlers, and danced, and kept a quarter, which pleased me, though it disturbed me; but I would not be with them at all.

30th. Mr. Gibson, and I, and our clerks, and Mr. Clerk, the solicitor, to a little ordinary in Hercules Pillars Alley—the “Crown,” a poor, sorry place, where a fellow in twelve years hath gained an estate of, as he says, £600 a year, which is very strange, and there dined, and had a good dinner and very good discourse between them, old men belonging to the law; and here I first heard that my cousin Pepys, of Salisbury Court, was Marshal to my Lord Coke when he was Lord Chief Justice; which beginning of his I did not know to be so low; but so it was, it seems. When come home, I find Kate Joyce hath been there, with sad news that her house stands not in the King’s liberty, but the Dean of Paul’s; and so, if her estate falls, it will not be in the King’s power to do her any other good. But I do believe this arises from somebody that hath a mind to frighten her into a composition for her estate, which I advise her against; and, indeed, I do desire heartily to be able to do her service, she being, methinks, a piece of care I ought to take upon me, for our fathers’ and friends’ sake, she being left alone, and no friend so near as me, or so able to help her.

31st. Up, and by coach, with W. Griffin with me,

and our contract-books, to Durham Yard, to the Commissioners of Accounts, the first time I ever was there, and stayed awhile before I was admitted to them. I did observe a great many people attending about complaints of seamen concerning tickets, and, among others, Mr. Carcaise, and Mr. Martin, my purser. And I observe a fellow, one Collins, is there, who is employed by these Commissioners particularly to hold an office in Bishopsgate Street, or somewhat thereabouts, to receive complaints of all people about tickets: and I believe he will have work enough. Presently I was called in, where I found the whole number of Commissioners, and was there received with great respect and kindness; and did give them great satisfaction, making it my endeavour to inform them what it was they were to expect from me, and what was the duty of other people; this being my only way to preserve myself after all my pains and trouble. They did ask many questions, and demanded other books of me, which I did give them very ready and acceptable answers to; and, upon the whole, I do observe they do go about their business like men resolved to go through with it, and in a very good method, like men of understanding. They have Mr. Jessop, their secretary: and it is pretty to see that they are fain to find out an old-fashioned man of Cromwell's to do their business for them, as well as the Parliament to pitch upon such, for the most part, among the lowest of

people that were brought into the House for Commissioners. I went away, giving and receiving great satisfaction; and so to Whitehall to the Commissioners of the Treasury; where, waiting some time, I there met with Colonel Birch, and he and I fell into discourse, and I did give him thanks for his kindness to me in the Parliament House, both before my face and behind my back. He told me that he knew me to be a man of the old way of taking pains, and did always endeavour to do me right, and prevent anything that was moved that might tend to my injury; which I was obliged to him for, and thanked him. Thence to talk of other things, and the want of money: and he told me of the general want of money in the country; that land sold for nothing, and the many pennyworths he knows of in the county, at sixteen years' purchase: "and," says he, "though I am in debt, yet I have a mind to one thing, and that is a bishop's lease;" but said, "I will not choose such a lease before any other, because I know they cannot stand, and then it will fall into the King's hands, and I in possession shall have an advantage of it." Says he, "I know they must fall, and they are near it, taking all the ways they can to undo themselves, and showing us the way;" and thereupon told me the story of the present quarrel between the Bishop and Dean of Coventry and Lichfield; the former of which did excommunicate the latter, and caused his execution.

munication to be read in the church while he was there; and after it was read, the Dean made the service be gone through with, though himself, an excommunicant, was present, which is contrary to the Canon, and said he would justify the choir therein against the Bishop; and so they are at law in the Arches about it; which is a very pretty story. He tells me that the King is for Toleration, though the Bishops be against it; and that he do not doubt but it will be carried in Parliament; but that he fears some will stand for the tolerating of Papists with the rest; and that he knows not what to say, but rather thinks that the sober party will be without it rather than have it upon those terms; and I do believe so. I to make a visit to Mr. Godolphin at his lodgings, who is lately come from Spain from my Lord Sandwich, and did, the other day, meeting me in Whitehall, compliment me mightily, and so I did offer him this visit but missed him. To my bookbinder's, and there, till late at night, binding up my second part of my Tangier accounts, and I all the while observing his working, and his manner of gilding of books with great pleasure, and so home. This day Griffin did, in discourse in the coach, put me in the head of the little house by our garden, where old goodman Taylor puts his brooms and dirt to make me a stable of, which I shall improve, so as, I think, to be able to get me a stable without much charge, which do please me mightily. It is observed, and is true, in the late fire

of London, that the fire burned just as many parish churches as there were hours from the beginning to the end of the fire; and, next, that there were just as many churches left standing as there were taverns left standing in the rest of the City that was not burned, being, I think, thirteen in all of each: which is pretty to observe.

*February 1st.* To the office till past two o'clock; where at the Board some high words passed between Sir W. Pen and I, begun by me, and yielded to by him, I being in the right in finding fault with him for his neglect of duty. Home, my head mighty full of business now on my hands, viz., of finishing my Tangier accounts; of auditing my last year's accounts; of preparing answers to the Commissioners of Accounts; of drawing up several important letters to the Duke of York and the Commissioners of the Treasury; the marrying of my sister; the building of a coach and stables against summer, and the setting many things in the office right; and the drawing up a new form of contract with the victualler of the Navy, and several other things, which pains, however, will go through with.

2nd. (Lord's day.) All the morning setting my books in order in my presses for the following year, their number being much increased since the last, so as I am fain to lay by several books to make room for better, being resolved to keep no more than just my presses

will contain. A very good dinner we had, of a powdered leg of pork and a loin of lamb roasted.

3rd. To the Duke of York's house, to the play, *The Tempest*, which we have often seen, and particularly this day I took pleasure to learn the time of the seaman's dance.

4th. To Kate Joyce's, where the jury did sit where they did before, about her husband's death, and their verdict put off for fourteen days longer, at the suit of somebody, under pretence of the King; but it is only to get money out of her to compound the matter. But the truth is, something they will make out of Stillingfleet's sermon, which may trouble us, he declaring, like a fool, in his pulpit, that he did confess that his losses in the world did make him do what he did. This vexes me to see how foolish our Protestant Divines are, while the Papists do make it the duty of confessor to be secret, or else nobody would confess their sins to them. All being put off for to-day, I took my leave of Kate, who is mightily troubled at it for her estate sake, not for her husband; for her sorrow for that, I perceive, is all over.

5th. To the Commissioners of Accounts, where I was called in, and did take an oath to declare the truth to what they should ask me, which is a great power, I doubt more than the Act do, or as some say can, give them, to force a man to swear against himself; and so they fell to enquire about the business of prize goods,

wherein I did answer them as well as I could in everything the just truth, keeping myself to them. I do perceive at last, that, that they do lay most like a fault to me was, that I did buy goods upon my Lord Sandwich's declaring that it was with the King's allowance, and my believing it without seeing the King's allowance, which is a thing I will own, and doubt not to justify myself in. But what vexed me most was, their having some watermen by, to witness my saying that they were rogues that had betrayed my goods, which was upon some discontent with one of the watermen that I employed at Greenwich, who I did think did discover the goods sent from Rochester to the Custom House officer; but this can do me no great harm. They were inquisitive into the minutest particulars, and had had great information; but I think that they can do me no hurt—at the worst more than to make me refund, if it must be known, what profit I did make of my agreement with Captain Cocke; and yet, though this be all, I do find so poor a spirit within me that it makes me almost out of my wits, and puts me to so much pain that I cannot think of anything, nor do anything but vex and fret, and imagine myself undone. After they had done with me, they called in Captain Cocke, with whom they were shorter, and I do fear he may answer foolishly; but I hope to preserve myself, and let him shift for himself as well as he can. Mr. Cooke come for my Lady Sandwich's plate, which I must part



with, and so endanger the losing of my money which I lent upon my thoughts of securing myself by that plate. But it is no great sum—but £60: and if it must be lost, better that than a greater sum. I away back again to find a dinner anywhere else, and so I, first, to the “Ship” tavern, there to get a sight of the pretty mistress of the house, with whom I am not yet acquainted at all, and I do always find her scolding, and do believe she is an ill-natured devil, that I have no great desire to speak to her. Mr. Moore mightily commends my Lord Hinchinbroke’s match and Lady though he buys her £10,000 dear, by the jointure and settlement his father makes her, and says that the Duke of York and Duchess of York did come to see them in bed together, on their wedding-night, and how my Lord had fifty pieces of gold taken out of his pocket that night after he was in bed. He tells me that an Act of Comprehension is likely to pass this Parliament, for admitting of all persuasions in religion to the public observation of their particular worship, but in certain places, and the persons therein concerned to be listed of this or that church; which, it is thought, will do them more hurt than good, and make them not own their persuasion. He tells me that there is a pardon passed to the Duke of Buckingham, and my Lord of Shrewsbury and the rest, for the late duel and murder; which he thinks a worse fault than any ill use my late Lord Chancellor ever put the Great Seal to, and will be

so thought by the Parliament, for them to be pardoned without bringing them to any trial: and that my Lord Privy Seal, therefore, would not have it pass his hand, but made it go by immediate warrant; or, at least they knew that he would not pass it, and so did direct it to go by immediate warrant that it might not come to him. He tells me what a character my Lord Sandwich hath sent over of Mr. Godolphin, as the worthiest man, and such a friend to him, as he may be trusted in anything relating to him in the world; as one from whom, he says, he hath infallible assurances that he will remain his friend: which is very high, but indeed they say the gentleman is a fine man.

6th. Sir H. Cholmly tells me how the Parliament, which is to meet again to-day, are likely to fall heavy on the business of the Duke of Buckingham's pardon: and I shall be glad of it; and that the King hath put out of the Court the two Hides, my Lord Chancellor's two sons, and also the Bishops of Rochester and Winchester, the latter of whom should have preached before him yesterday, being Ash-Wednesday, and had his sermon ready, but was put by; which is great news. My wife being gone before, I to the Duke of York's playhouse, where a new play of Etheredge's, called *She Would if she Could*; and though I was there by two o'clock, there was 1,000 people put back that could not have room in the pit; and I at last, because my wife was there, made shift to

get into the 18d. box, and there saw; but Lord! how full was the house, and how silly the play, there being nothing in the world good in it, and few people pleased in it. The King was there; but I sat mightily behind, and could see but little, and hear not all. The play being done, I into the pit to look for my wife, it being dark and raining, but could not find her; and so stayed going between the two doors and through the pit an hour and a half, I think, after the play was done; the people staying there till the rain was over, and to talk with one another. And, among the rest, here was the Duke of Buckingham to-day openly sat in the pit; and there I found him with my Lord Buckhurst, and Sedley, and Etheredge, the poet; the last of whom I did hear mightily find fault with the actors, that they were out of humour, and had not their parts perfect. and that Harris did do nothing, nor could so much as sing a catch in it, and so was mightily concerned: while all the rest did, through the whole pit, blame the play as a silly, dull thing, though there was something very roguish and witty; but the design of the play and end mighty insipid. At last I did find my wife; and with her was Betty Turner, Mercer, and Deb. So I got a coach, and a humour took us, and I carried them to Hercules Pillars, and there did give them a kind of a supper of about 7s., and a very merry, and home round the town, not through the ruins: and it was pretty how the coachman by mistake drives us

into the ruins from London Wall into Coleman Street, and would persuade me that I lived there. And the truth is, I did think that he and the linkman had contrived some roguery; but it proved only a mistake of the coachman; but it was a cunning place to have done us a mischief in, as any I know, to drive us out of the road into the ruins, and there stop, while nobody could be called to help us. But we come safe home.

7th. Met my cousin Roger Pepys, the Parliament meeting yesterday and adjourned to Monday next; and here he tells me that Mr. Jackson, my sister's servant, is come to town, and hath this day suffered a recovery on his estate, in order to the making her a settlement. There is a great trial between my Lord Gerard and Carr to-day, who is indicted for his life at the King's Bench, for running from his colours; but all do say that my Lord Gerard, though he designs the ruin of this man, will not get anything by it. To the Commissioners of Accounts and there presented my books, and was made to sit down and used with much respect, otherwise than the other day when I come to them as a criminal about the business of prizes. I sat here with them a great while, while my books were inventoried. I find these gentlemen to sit all day, and only eat a bit of bread at noon and a glass of wine, and are resolved to go through their business with great severity and method. Met by cousin Roger again, and Mr. Jackson, who is a plain young man,

handsome enough for Pall, one of no education nor discourse, but of few words, and one altogether that, I think, will please me well enough. My cousin had got me to give the odd sixth £100 presently, which I intended to keep to the birth of the first child: and let it go—I shall be eased o. the care. So there parted, my mind pretty well satisfied with this plain fellow for my sister, though I shall, I see, have no pleasure nor content in him, as if he had been a man of reading and parts, like Cumberland. Lord Brouncker, and W. Pen, and I, and with us Sir Arnold Breames, to the King's playhouse, and there saw a piece of *Love in a Maze*, a dull, silly play, I think; and after the play, home with W. Pen and his son Lowther, whom we met there.

8th. Cousin Roger and Jackson by appointment come to dine with me, and Creed, and very merry, only Jackson hath few words, and I like him never the worse for it. The great talk is of Carr's coming off in all his trials to the disgrace of my Lord Gerard, to that degree, and the ripping up of so many notorious rogueries and cheats of my Lord's, that my Lord, it is thought, will be ruined; and, above all, do show the madness of the House of Commons, who rejected the petition of this poor man by a combination of a few in the House; and, much more, the base proceedings, just the epitome of all our public managements in this age, of the House of Lords, that ordered him to stand in

the pillory for those very things, without hearing and examining what he hath now, by the seeking of my Lord Gerard himself, cleared himself of, in open Court, to the gaining himself the pity of all the world, and shame for ever to my Lord Gerard. To the Strand, to my bookseller's, and there bought an idle, roguish French book, which I have bought in plain binding, avoiding the buying of it better bound, because I resolve, as soon as I have read it, to burn it, that it may not stand in the list of books, nor among them, to disgrace them if it should be found. My wife well pleased with my sister's match, and designing how to be merry at their marriage.

9th. (Lord's day.) Pegg Pen was brought to bed yesterday of a girl; and, among other things, if I have not already set it down, it hardly ever was remembered for such a season for the smallpox as these last two months have been, people being seen all up and down the streets newly come out after the smallpox.

10th. Made a visit to Mr. Godolphin at his chamber; and I do find him a very pretty and able person, a man of very fine parts, and of infinite zeal to my Lord Sandwich; and one that says, he is, he believes, as wise and able a person as any prince in the world hath. He tells me that he meets with unmannerly usage by Sir Robert Southwell in Portugal, who would sign with him in his negociations there, being a forward young man: but that my Lord mastered him in that point, it

being ruled, for my Lord here at a hearing of the Committee of the Council. He says that if my Lord can compass a peace between Spain and Portugal, and hath the doing of it and the honour himself, it will be a thing of more honour than ever any man had, and of as much advantage. {thence to Westminster Hall, where the hall mighty full: and, among other things, the House begins to sit to-day, and the King came. But before the King's coming, the House of Commons met: and upon information given them of a Bill intended to be brought in, as common report said, for Comprehension, they did mightily and generally inveigh against it, and did vote that the King should be desired by the House (and the message delivered by the Privy Counsellors of the House) that the laws against breakers of the Act for Uniformity should be put in execution; and it was moved in the House that, if any people had a mind to bring any new laws into the House about religion, they might come, as a proposer of new laws did in Athens, with ropes about their necks. By-and-by the King to the Lords' House, and there tells them of his league with Holland, and the necessity of a fleet, and his debts, and, therefore, want of money; and his desire that they would think of some way to bring in all his Protestant subjects to a right understanding and peace one with another: meaning the Bill of Comprehension. The Commons coming to their House, it was moved that the vote

passed this morning might be suspended, because of the King's Speech, till the House was full and called over two days hence: but it was denied, so furious they are against this Bill; and thereby a great blow either given to the King or Presbyters, or, which is the rather of the two, to the House itself, by denying a thing desired by the King, and so much desired by much the greater part of the nation. Whatever the consequence be, if the King be of any stomach and heat, all do believe that he will resent this vote. Read over and agreed upon Pall's Deed of Settlement to our misfits: she to have £600 presently, and she to be jointured in £60 per annum; wherein I am very well satisfied.

11th. Comes a summons to attend the Committee of Miscarriages to-day, which makes me mad, that I should by my place become the hackney of this Office, in perpetual trouble and vexation, that need it least. To Westminster Hall, and sent my wife and Deb. to see *Mustapha* acted. Here I brought a book to the Committee, and do find them, and particularly Sir Thomas Clarges, mighty hot in the business of tickets, which makes me mad to see them bite at the stone, and not at the hand that flings it. Thence to the Duke of York's playhouse, and there saw the last act for nothing, where I never saw such good acting of any creature as Smith's part of Zanga; and I do also, though Solyman was excellently acted by—, yet want Better-



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ton mightily. To Pemberton's chamber, and did discourse all our business of the prizes; and, upon the whole, he do make it plainly appear that there is no avoiding to give these Commissioners satisfaction in everything they will ask; and that there is fear lest they may find reason to make us refund for all the extraordinary profit made by those bargains: and do make me resolve rather to declare plainly, and, once for all, the truth of the whole, and what my profit hath been, than be forced at last to do it, and in the meantime live in pain: and with this resolution on my part I departed, with some more satisfaction of mind, though with less of profit than I expected. It was pretty here to see the heaps of money upon this lawyer's table; and more to see how he had not since last night spent any time upon our business, but begun with telling us that we were not at all concerned in that Act; which was a total mistake, by his not having read over the Act at all. This morning my wife in bed told me the story of our Tom and Jane: how the rogue did first demand her consent to love and marry him, and then, with pretence of displeasing me, did slight her; but both he and she have confessed the matter to her, and she hath charged him to go on with his love to her, and be true to her, which, for my love to her, because she is in love with him, I am pleased with; but otherwise I think she will have no good bargain of it. But if I do stand, I do intend to give her

£50 in money, and do them all the good I can in my way.

12th. Roger Pepys, and Sir Thomas Crewe, and Mr. George Montagu, are mighty busy how to save my Lord's name from being in the Report for anything which the Committee is commanded to report to the House of the miscarriages of the late war. Thence with cousin Roger to his lodgings, and there sealed the writings with Jackson about my sister's marriage: and here my cousin Roger told me the pleasant passage of a fellow's bringing a bag of letters to-day into the lobby of the House, where he left them, and withdrew himself without observation. The bag being opened, the letters were found all of one size, and directed with one hand: a letter to most of the Members of the House. The House was acquainted with it, and voted they should be brought in, and one opened by the Speaker; wherein if he found anything unfit to communicate, to propose a committee to be chosen for it. The Speaker opening one, found it only a case with a libel in it printed; a satire most sober and bitter as ever I read: and every letter was the same. So the House fell a scrambling for them like boys: and my cousin Roger had one directed to him, which he lent me to read. Mr. Houblon come late to me; and going to the gate with him, I found his lady and another fine lady sitting an hour together, late at night, in their coach, while he was with me, which is

so like my wife, that I was mightily taken with it, though troubled for it.

13th. Mr. Brisband tells me in discourse that Tom Killigrew hath a fee out of the Wardrobe for cap and bells, under the title of the King's Fool or Jester; and may revile or jeer anybody, the greatest person, without offence, by the privilege of his place. The House was called over to-day. This morning Sir G. Carteret come to the office to see and talk with me: and he assures me that to this day the King is the most kind man to my Lord Sandwich in the whole world; that he himself do not now mind any public business, but suffers things to go on at Court as they will, he seeing all likely to come to ruin: that this morning the Duke of York sent to him to come to make up one of a Committee of the Council of Navy affairs; upon which, when he came, he told the Duke of York he was none of them: which shows how things are now-a-days ordered, that there should be a Committee for the Navy; and the Lord Admiral knows not the persons of it! And that Sir G. Carteret and my Lord Anglesey should be left out of it, and men wholly improper put into it. I do hear of all hands that there is a great difference at this day between my Lord Arlington and Sir W. Coventry, which I am sorry for.

14th. (Valentine's day.) Up, being called up by Mercer, who come to be my Valentine, and I did give her a guinea in gold for her Valentine's gift. There

comes Roger Pepys betimes, and comes to my wife for her to be his Valentine, whose Valentine I was also, by agreement, to be so to her every year; and this year I find it is likely to cost £4 or £5 in a ring for her, which she desires. I to my office, to perfect my narrative about prize-goods; and did carry it to the Commissioners of Accounts, who did receive it with great kindness, and express great value of, and respect to me: and my heart is at rest that it is lodged there, in so full truth and plainness, though it may hereafter prove some loss to me. But here I do see they are entered into many inquiries about prizes, by the great attendance of commanders and others before them, which is a work I am not sorry for. Thence I away, with my head busy, but my heart at pretty good ease, to the Old Exchange, and there met Mr. Houblon. I prayed him to discourse with some of the merchants that are of the Committee of Accounts, to see how they do resent my paper, and in general my particular in relation to the business of the Navy, which he hath promised to do carefully for me. Here it was a mighty pretty sight to see old Mr. Houblon, whom I never saw before, and all his sons about him, all good merchants. To visit Colonel Thomson, one of the Committee of Accounts, who, among the rest, is mighty kind to me, and is likely to mind our business more than any; and I would be glad to have a good understanding with him. Thence after dinner

to Whitehall to attend the Duke of York, where I did let him know, too, the troublesome life we lead, and particularly myself, by being obliged to such attendances every day as I am, on one committee or another. And I do find the Duke of York himself troubled, and willing not to be troubled with occasions of having his name used among the Parliament, though he himself do declare that he did give directions to Lord Brouncker to discharge the men at Chatham by ticket, and will own it if the House call for it, but not else. Thence I attend the King and Council, and some of the rest of us, in a business to be heard about the value of a ship of one Dorington's: and it was pretty to observe how Sir W. Pen—making use of this argument against the validity of an oath against the King, being made by the master's mate of the ship, who was but a fellow of about twenty-three years of age—the master of the ship, against whom we pleaded, did say that he did think himself at that age capable of being master's mate of any ship, and do know that he, Sir W. Pen, was so himself, and in no better degree at that age himself: which word did strike Sir W. Pen mad, and made him open his mouth no more; and I saw the King and Duke of York wink at one another at it. This done, we into the gallery; and there I walked with several people, and among others my Lord Brouncker, who I do find under much trouble

still about the business of the tickets, his very case being brought in, as is said, this day in the Report of the Miscarriages. And he seems to lay much of it on me, which I did clear and satisfy him in; and would be glad with all my heart to serve him in, and have done it more than he hath done for himself, he not deserving the least blame, but commendations, for this. I met with my cousin Roger Pepys and Creed; and from them understand that the Report was read to-day of the Miscarriages, wherein my Lord Sandwich is named about the business I mentioned this-morning; but I will be at rest, for it can do him no hurt. Our business of tickets is soundly up, and many others; so they went over them again, and spent then all the morning on the first, which is the dividing of the fleet; wherein hot work was, and that among great men, Privy-Councillors, and they say, Sir W. Coventry; but I do not much fear it, but do hope that it will show a little of the Duke of Albemarle and the Prince to have been advisers in it: but whereas they ordered that the King's Speech should be considered to-day, they took no notice of it at all, but are really come to despise the King in all possible ways of showing it. And it was the other day a strange saying, as I am told by my cousin Roger Pepys in the House, when it was moved that the King's Speech should be considered, that though the first part of the Speech, meaning the league that is

there talked of, be the only good public thing that hath been done since the King come into England, yet it might bear with being put off to consider till Friday next, which was this day. Secretary Morrice did this day in the House, when they talked of intelligence, say that he was allowed but £700 a year for intelligence, whereas in Cromwell's time he [Cromwell] did allow £70,000 a year for it; and was confirmed therein by Colonel Birch, who said that thereby Cromwell carried the secrets of all the princes of Europe at his girdle. The House is in a most broken condition: nobody adhering to anything, but reviling and finding fault: and now quite mad at the undertakers, as they are commonly called, Littleton, Lord Vaughan, Sir R. Howard, and others that are brought over to the Court, and did undertake to get the King money; but they despise, and they will not hear, them in the House; and the Court do as much, seeing that they cannot be useful to them, as was expected. In short, it is plain that the King will never be able to do anything with this Parliament; and that the only likely way to do better, for it cannot do worse, is to break this and call another Parliament; and some do think that it is intended. I was told to-night that my Lady Castlemaine is so great a gamester as to have won £15,000 in one night, and lost £25,000 in another night, at play, and hath played £1,000 and £1,500 at a cast.



15th. Till midnight almost, and till I had tired my own back, and my wife's and Deb's, entitling of my books for the present year, and in setting them in order, which is now done to my very good satisfaction, though not altogether so completely as I think they were the last year.

16th. (Lord's day.) All the morning making a catalogue of my books. Mr. Holliard put in, and dined with my wife and me. His story of love and fortune, which hath been very good and very bad in the world, well worth hearing. Much discourse about the bad state of the Church, and how the clergy are come to be men of no worth in the world; and as the world do now generally discourse, they must be reformed; and I believe the hierarchy will in a little time be shaken, whether they will or no; the King being offended with them, and set upon it, as I hear.

17th. All the morning getting some things more ready against the afternoon for the Committee of Accounts, which did give me great trouble to see how I am forced to dance after them in one place, and to answer Committees of Parliament in another. Great high words in the House on Saturday last upon the first part of the Committee's Report about the dividing of the fleet; wherein some would have the counsels of the King to be declared, and the reasons of them, and who did give them; where Sir W. Coventry

laid open to them the consequences of doing that, that the King would never have any honest and wise men ever to be of his Council. They did here in the House talk boldly of the King's bad counsellors, and how they all must be turned out, and many others, and better, brought in: and the proceedings of the Long Parliament in the beginning of the war were called to memory: and the King's bad intelligence was mentioned, wherein they were bitter against my Lord Arlington, saying, among other things, that whatever Morrice's was, who declared he had but £750 a year allowed him for intelligence, the King paid too dear for my Lord Arlington's, in giving him £10,000 and a barony for it. Sir W. Coventry did here come to his defence in the business of the letter that was sent to call back Prince Rupert after he was divided from the fleet, wherein great delay was objected; but he did show that he sent it at one in the morning when the Duke of York did give him the instructions after supper that night, and did clear himself well of it: only it was laid as a fault, which I know not how he removes, of not sending it by an express, but by the ordinary post; but I think I have heard he did send it to my Lord Arlington's, and that there it lay for some hours; it coming not to Sir Philip Honiwood's hand at Portsmouth till four in the afternoon that day, being about fifteen or sixteen hours in going; and about this, I think, I have heard

of a falling out between my Lord Arlington heretofore and W. Coventry. Some mutterings I did hear of dissolving the Parliament; but I think there is no ground for it yet, though Oliver would have dissolved them for half the trouble and contempt these have put upon the King and his councils. The dividing of the fleet, however, is, I hear, voted a miscarriage, and the not building a fortification at Sheerness: and I have reason every hour to expect that they will vote the like of our paying men off by ticket; and what the consequence of that will be, I know not.

18th. Walked down to the "Old Swan," where I find Mitchell building, his booth being taken down, and a foundation laid for a new house, so that, that street is like to be a very fine place. So to Charing Cross stairs, and to Sir W. Coventry's, who tells me how he hath been persecuted, and how he is yet well come off in the business of the dividing of the fleet and the sending of the letter. He expects next to be troubled about the business of bad officers in the fleet, wherein he will bid them name whom they call bad, and he will justify himself, having never disposed of any but by the Admiral's liking. He and I did look over the list of commanders, and found that we could presently recollect thirty-seven commanders that have been killed in actual service this war. He tells me that Sir Fr. Hollis is the main man that hath persecuted him hitherto in the business of dividing the fleet, saying

vainly that the want of that letter to the Prince hath given him that, that he shall remember it by to his grave, meaning the loss of his arm; when, God knows! he is as idle and insignificant a fellow as ever came into the fleet. I well remember what, in mirth, he said to me this morning, when upon this discourse he said, if ever there was another Dutch war they should not find a Secretary: "Nor," said I, "a Clerk of the Acts, for I see the reward of it; and thank God! I have enough of my own to buy me a good book and a good fiddle, and I have a good wife."—"Why," says he, "I have enough to buy me a good book, and shall not need a fiddle, because I have never a one of your good wives." To Westminster Hall, and there walked all the morning, and did speak with several Parliament-men—among others, Birch, who is very kind to me, and calls me, with great respect and kindness, a man of business, and he thinks honest, and so long will stand by me, and every such man, to the death. My business was to instruct them to keep the House from falling into any mistaken vote about the business of tickets before they were better informed. With my Lord Brouncker, who was in great pain there, and the truth is, his business is without reason so ill resented by the generality of the House, that I was almost troubled to be seen to walk with him, and yet am able to justify him in all, that he is in so much scandal for. Here I did get a copy of the Report

itself about our paying off men by tickets, and am mightily glad to see it, now knowing the state of our case and what we have to answer to: so that against Thursday I shall be able to draw up some defence to put into some Members' hands to inform them. This morning the House is upon a Bill, brought in to-day by Sir Richard Temple, for obliging the King to call Parliaments every three years; or, if he fail, for others to be obliged to do it, and to keep him from a power of dissolving any Parliament in less than forty days after their first day of sitting, which is such a Bill as do speak very high proceedings, to the lessening of the King; and this they will carry, and whatever else they desire, before they will give any money; and the King must have money, whatever it cost him. Sir W. Pen and I to the "Bear," in Drury Lane, an excellent ordinary, after the French manner, but of Englishmen; and there had a good fricassee, our dinner coming to 8s., which was mighty pretty, to my great content; and thence he and I to the King's house, and there, in one of the upper boxes, saw *Flora's Vagaries*, which is a very silly play; and the more, I being out of humour, being at a play without my wife and she ill at home, and having no desire also to be seen, and therefore could not look about me. I to see Kate Joyce, where I find her and her friends in great ease of mind, the Jury having this day given in their verdict that her husband died of a fever. Some opposition there was,

the foreman pressing them to declare the cause of the fever, thinking thereby to obstruct it; but they did adhere to their verdict, and would give no reason; so all trouble is now over and she safe in her estate. Up to my wife, not owning my being at a play, and there she shows me her ring of a Turkey-stone [turquoise], set with little sparks of diamonds, which I am to give her as my Valentine, and I am not much troubled at it. It will cost me near £5—she costing me but little compared with other wives, and I have not many occasions to spend money on her.

19th. With my wife out with Deb., to buy some things against my sister's wedding. In the evening to Whitehall, where I find Sir W. Coventry a great while with the Duke of York in the King's drawing-room, they two talking together all alone, which did mightily please me. I do hear how La Roche, a French captain, who was once prisoner here, being with his ship at Plymouth, hath played some freaks there, for which his men being beat out of the town, he hath put up a flag of defiance, and also, somewhere thereabout, did land with his men, and go a mile into the country and did some pranks, which sounds pretty odd, to our disgrace, but we are in condition now to bear anything. But, blessed be God! all the Court is full of good news of my Lord Sandwich's having made a peace between Spain and Portugal, which is mighty great news, and, above all, to my Lord's honour, more than anything he ever

did; and yet I do fear it will not prevail to secure him in Parliament against incivilities there.

20th. The House most of the morning upon the business of not prosecuting the first victory; which they have voted one of the greatest miscarriages of the whole war, though they cannot lay the fault anywhere yet, because Harman is not come home. Dined, and by one o'clock to the King's house: a new play, *The Duke of Lerma*, of Sir Robert Howard's: where the King and Court was; and Knipp and Nell spoke the prologue most excellently, especially Knipp, who spoke beyond any creature I ever heard. The play designed to reproach our King with his mistresses, that I was troubled for it, and expected it should be interrupted; but it ended all well, which salved all.

21st. Comes to me young Captain Beckford, the slop-seller, and there presents me a little purse with gold in it, it being, as he told me, for his present to me at the end of the last year. I told him I had not done him any service I knew of. He persisted, and I refused; and telling him that it was not an age to make presents in, he told me he had reason to present me with something, and desired me to accept of it, which, at his so urging me, I did. Towards Westminster, and met my Lord Brouncker, and W. Pen, and Sir T. Harvey, in King's Street, coming away from the Parliament House; and so I to them, and to the French ordinary, at the "Blue Bells," in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, and there dined and

talked. And, among other things, they tell me how the House this day is still as backward for giving any money as ever, and do declare they will first have an account of the disposals of the last poll-bill, and eleven months' tax; and it is pretty odd that the very first sum mentioned in the account brought in by Sir Robert Long, of the disposal of the poll-bill money, is £5,000 to my Lord Arlington for intelligence; which was mighty unreasonable, so soon after they had so much cried out against his want of intelligence. The King do also own but £250,000, or thereabouts, yet paid on the poll-bill, and that he hath charged £350,000 upon it. This makes them mad; for that the former poll-bill, that was so much less in its extent than the last, which took in all sexes and qualities, did come to £350,000. Upon the whole I perceive they are like to do nothing in this matter to please the King or relieve the State, be the case never so pressing; and, therefore, it is thought by a great many that the King cannot be worse if he should dissolve them: but there is nobody dares advise it, nor do he consider anything himself. Thence, having dined for 20s., we to the Duke of York at Whitehall, and there had our usual audience, and did little but talk of the proceedings of Parliament, wherein he is as much troubled as we, for he is not without fears that they do aim at doing him hurt; but yet he declares that he will never deny to own what orders he hath given to any man to justify him,



notwithstanding their having sent to him to desire his being tender to take upon him the doing anything of that kind. Met with Colonel Birch and Sir John Lowther, and did there in the lobby read over what I have drawn up for our defence, wherein they own themselves mightily satisfied; and Birch, like a particular friend, do take it upon him to defend us, and do mightily do me right in all his discourse. Discoursed with several members, to prepare them in our business against to-morrow. My cousin, Roger Pepys, showed me Granger's written confession, of his being forced by imprisonment, &c., by my Lord Gerard, most barbarously to confess his forging of a deed in behalf of Fitton, in the great case between him [Fitton] and my Lord Gerard; which business is under examination, and is the foulest against my Lord Gerard that ever anything in the world was, and will, all do believe, ruin him; and I shall be glad of it. Comes my wife to me, who hath been at Pegg Pen's christening, which, she says, hath made a flutter and noise; but was as mean as could be, and but little company, just like all the rest that family do.

22nd. By coach through Duck Lane, and there did buy Kirtcher's "Musurgia," cost me 35s., a book I am mighty glad of, expecting to find great satisfaction in it. To Westminster Hall and the lobby, and up and down there all the morning and the Lord's House, and heard the Solicitor-General plead very finely, as he

always do; and this was in defence of the East India Company, against a man that complains of wrong from them. And so with my wife, and Mercer, and Deb., who come to the Hall to me, I away to the "Bear," in Drury Lane, and there bespoke a dish of meat; and, in the meantime, sat and sung with Mercer; and by-and-by dined with mighty pleasure, and excellent meat, one little dish enough for us all, and good wine, and all for 8s. To the Duke's playhouse, and there saw *Albumazar*, an old play, this the second time of acting. It is said to have been the ground of B. Jonson's "Alchymist;" but, saving the ridiculousness of Angell's part, which is called Trinkilo, I do not see anything extraordinary in it, but was indeed weary of it before it was done. The King here, and indeed all of us, pretty merry at the mimic tricks of Trinkilo.

23rd. (Lord's day). Up and, being desired by a messenger from Sir G. Carteret, I by water over to Southwark, and so walked to the "Falcon," on the bank-side, and there got another boat, and so to Westminster, where I would have gone into the "Swan," but the door was locked, and the girl could not let me in, and so to Wilkinson's, in King Street, and there wiped my shoes, and so to Court, where sermon not yet done. I met with Brisband; and he tells me, first, that our business of tickets did come to debate yesterday, it seems, after I was gone away, and was voted a miscarriage in general. He tells me that there is a great looking

after places, upon a presumption of a great many vacancies; and he did show me a fellow at Court, a brother of my Lord Fanshaw's, a witty but rascally fellow, without a penny in his purse, that was asking him what places there were in the Navy fit for him, and Brisband tells me, in mirth, he told him the Clerk of the Acts, and I wish he had it, so I were well and quietly rid of it; for I am weary of this kind of trouble, having, I think, enough whereon to support myself. I met with Sir W. Coventry, and he and I walked awhile together in the Matted Gallery, and there he told me all the proceedings of yesterday: that the matter is found, in general, a miscarriage, but no persons named; and so there is no great matter to our prejudice yet, till, if ever, they come to particular persons. He told me Birch was very industrious to do what he could, and did like a friend; but they were resolved to find the thing, in general, a miscarriage; and says, that when we shall think fit to desire its being heard, as to our own defence, it will be granted. He tells me how he hath with advantage cleared himself in what concerns himself therein, by his servant Robson, which I am glad of. He tells me that there is a letter sent by conspiracy to some of the House, which he hath seen, about the manner of selling of places, which he do believe he shall be called upon to-morrow for: and thinks himself well prepared to defend himself in it; and then neither he, nor his friends for him,

are afraid of anything to his prejudice. Thence by coach, with Brisband, to Sir G. Carteret's, in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, and there dined: a good dinner and good company; and after dinner he and I alone discoursing of my Lord Sandwich's matters; who hath, in the first business before the House, been very kindly used beyond expectation, the matter being laid by till his coming home: and old Mr. Vaughan did speak for my Lord, which I am mighty glad of. The business of the prizes is the worst that can be said, and therein I do fear something may lie hard upon him; but against this we must prepare the best we can for his defence. Thence with Sir G. Carteret to Whitehall, where finding a meeting of the Committee of the Council for the Navy, his Royal Highness there, and Sir W. Pen, and some of the brethren of the Trinity House to attend. I did go in with them; and it was to be informed of the practice heretofore, for all foreign nations, at enmity one with another, to forbear any acts of hostility to one another, in the presence of any of the King of England's ships, of which several instances were given: and it is referred to their further enquiry, in order to the giving instructions accordingly to our ships now during the war between Spain and France. As to God we were in the same condition as he was to challenge and maintain this our dominion. I went with W. Pen homeward, and quite through the End for a little air; the days being now pro

but the ways mighty dirty. Going back again, Sir R. Brookes overtook us coming to town; who played the jack with us all, and is a fellow that I must trust no more, he quoting me for all he hath said in this business of tickets; though I have told him nothing that either is not true, or I afraid to own. But here talking, he did discourse in this style: "We"—and "We" all along—"will not give any money, be the pretence never so great, nay, though the enemy was in the River of Thames again, till we know what is become of the last money given;" and I do believe he do speak the mind of his fellows, and so let him. This evening my wife did with great pleasure show me her stock of jewels, increased by the ring she hath made lately as my Valentine's gift this year, a Turkey-stone set with diamonds: and, with this and what she had, she reckons that she hath above £150 worth of jewels of one kind or other; and I am glad of it, for it is fit the wretch should have something to content herself with.

24th. At my booksellers, and did buy "L'illustre Bassa," in four volumes, for my wife. Meeting Dr. Gibbons, he and I to see an organ at the Dean of Westminster's lodgings at the Abbey, the Bishop of Rochester's, where he lives like a great prelate, his lodgings being very good; though at present under great disgrace at Court, being put by his Clerk of the Closet's place. I saw his lady, on whom the *Terræ Filius* of Oxford was once so merry, and two children,

whereof one a very pretty little boy, like him, so fat and black. Here I saw the organ; but it is too big for my house, and the fashion do not please me enough; and therefore I will not have it. To the Nursery, where none of us ever were before; the house is better and the music better than we looked for, and the acting not much worse, because I expected as bad as could be: and I was not much mistaken, for it was so. Their play was a bad one, called *Jeronimo is Mad Again*, a tragedy. Here was some good company by us, who did make mighty sport at the folly of their acting, which I could not refrain from sometimes, though I was sorry for it. I was prettily served this day at the playhouse-door, where, giving six shillings into the fellow's hand for three of us, the fellow by legerdemain did convey one away, and with so much grace faced me down that I did give him but five, that, though I knew the contrary, yet I was overpowered by his so grave and serious demanding the other shilling that I could not deny him, but was forced by myself to give it him.

25th. Comes W. Howe to me to advise what answer to give to the business of the prizes, wherein I did give him the best advice I could; but am sorry to see so many things, wherein I doubt it will not be prevented but Sir Roger Cuttance and Mr. Pierce will be found very much concerned in goods beyond the distribution, and I doubt my Lord Sandwich, too. I took

my wife and Deb. up and to the Nursery, and there saw them act a comedy, a pastoral, *The Faithful Shepherd*, having the curiosity to see whether they did a comedy better than a tragedy; but they do it both alike, in the meanest manner, that I was sick of it; but I shall see them no more. My wife hath bought a dressing-box, and other things for her chamber and table, that cost me above £4. I do perceive, by Sir W. Warren's discourse, that the House do all they can possibly to get out of him and others, what presents they have made to the officers of the Navy; but he tells me that he hath denied all, though he knows that he is forsworn as to what relates to me.

26th. After dinner comes W. Howe to tell me how he sped, who says he was used civilly, and not so many questions asked as he expected: but yet I do perceive enough to show that they do intend to know the bottom of things, and where to lay the great weight of the disposal of these East India goods, and that they intend plainly to do upon my Lord Sandwich. To Westminster Hall, where, it being now about six o'clock, I find the House just risen; and met with Sir W. Coventry and the Lieutenant of the Tower, they having sat all day; and with great difficulty have got a vote for giving the King £500,000, not to be raised by any land-tax. The sum is much smaller than I expected, and than the King needs; but is grounded upon Mr. Wren's reading our estimates the other day of £270,000

to keep the fleet abroad, wherein we demanded nothing for setting and fitting of them out, which will cost almost £200,000, I do verily believe: and do believe that the King hath no cause to thank Wren for this motion. I home to Sir W. Coventry's lodgings, with him and the Lieutenant of the Tower, where also was Sir John Coventry, and Sir John Duncomb, and Sir Job Charlerton. And here a great deal of good discourse: and they seem mighty glad to have this vote passed, which I did wonder at, to see them so well satisfied with so small a sum, Sir John Duncomb swearing, as I perceive he will freely do, that it was as much as the nation could bear. Among other merry discourse about spending of money, and how much more chargeable a man's living is now than it was heretofore, Duncomb did swear that in France he did live on £100 a-year with more plenty, and wine and wenches, than he believes can be done now for £200, which was pretty odd for him, being a Committeeman's son, to say. Home in Sir John Robinson's coach, and there to bed.

27th. With my wife to the King's house, to see *The Virgin Martyr*, the first time it hath been acted a great while, and it is mighty pleasant: not that the play is worth much, but it is finely acted by Beck Marshall. But that which did please me beyond anything in the whole world was the wind-music when the angel comes down, which is so sweet that it ravished me, and indeed, in a word, did wrap up my soul so that it made me



really sick, just as I have formerly been when in love with my wife; that neither then, nor all the evening going home, and at home, I was able to think of anything, but remained all night transported, so as I could not believe that ever any music hath that real command over the soul of a man as this did upon me; and makes me resolve to practice wind music, and to make my wife do the like.

28th. After dinner with Sir W. Pen to Whitehall, where we and the rest of us presented a great letter of the state of our want of money to his Royal Highness. I did also present a demand of mine for consideration for my travelling charges of coach and boat-hire during the war which, though his Royal Highness and the company did all like of, yet, contrary to my expectation, I find him so jealous now of doing anything extraordinary, that he desired the gentlemen that they would consider it, and report their minds in it to him. This did unsettle my mind a great while, not expecting this stop: but, however, I shall do as well. I know, though it causes me a little stop. But that, that troubles me most is, that while we were thus together with the Duke of York, comes in Mr. Wren from the House, where he tells us, another storm hath been all this day almost against the officers of the Navy upon this complaint—that though they have made good rules for payment of tickets, yet that they have not observed them themselves, which was driven so high as

to have urged that we should presently be put out of our places; and so they have at last ordered that we shall be heard at the bar of the House upon this business on Thursday next. This did mightily trouble me and us all; but me particularly, who am least able to bear these troubles, though I have the least cause to be concerned in it. Thence, therefore, to visit Sir H. Cholmly, who hath for some time been ill of a cold; and thence walked towards Westminster, and met Colonel Birch, who took me back to walk with him, and did give me an account of this day's heat against the Navy officers, and an account of his speech on our behalf, which was very good; and indeed we are much beholden to him, as I, after I parted with him, did find by my cousin Roger, whom I went to: and he and I to his lodgings. And there he did tell me the same over again, and how Birch did stand up in our defence; and that he do see that there are many desirous to have us out of the office; and the House is so furious and passionate, that he thinks nobody can be secure, let him deserve never so well. But now, he tells me, we shall have a fair hearing of the House, and he hopes justice of them: but, upon the whole, he do agree with me that I should hold my hand as to making any purchase of land, which I had formerly discoursed with him about till we see a little further how matters go. He tells me that what made them so mad to-day first was several letters in the House about the fanatics, in several

places coming in great bodies and turning people out of the churches, and there preaching themselves, and pulling the surplice over the parsons' heads: this was confirmed from several places, which makes them stark mad, especially the hectors and bravadoes of the House, who show all the zeal on this occasion.

29th. Sir G. Carteret did come to discourse about the prize business of my Lord Sandwich's, which I perceive is likely to be of great ill consequence to my Lord, the House being mighty vehement in it. We could say little but advise that his friends should labour to get it put off till he comes. We did here talk many things over in lamentation of the present posture of affairs, and the ill condition of all people that have had anything to do under the King. They tell me how Sir Thomas Allen hath taken the Englishmen out of La Roche's ship, and taken from him an Ostend prize which La Roche had fetched out of one of our harbours; and at this day La Roche keeps upon our coasts, and had the boldness to land some men and go a mile up into the country, and there took some goods belonging to this prize out of a house there: which our King resents, and they say hath wrote to the King of France about, and everybody do think a war will follow; and then in what a case we shall be for want of money, nobody knows. Wrote to my father, and sent him Colvill's note for £600 for my sister's portion, being glad that I shall, I hope, have that business over

before I am out of place, and I trust I shall be able to save a little of what I have got; for I am weary of this life.

*March 1st.* (Lord's day.) Up very betimes, and by coach to Sir W. Coventry's; and there, largely carrying with me all my notes and papers, did run over our whole defence in the business of tickets, in order to the answering the House on Thursday next; and I do think, unless they be set without reason to ruin us, we shall make a good defence. I find him in great anxiety, though he will not discover it, in the business of the proceedings of Parliament; and would as little as is possible have his name mentioned in our discourse to them; and particularly the business of selling places is now upon his hand to defend himself in; wherein I did help him in his defence about the flag-maker's place, which is named in the House. We did here do the like about the complaint of want of victuals in the fleet in the year 1666, which will lie upon me to defend also. In lieu of a coach this year, I have got my wife to be contented with her closet being made up this summer, and going into the country this summer for a month or two to my father's, and there Mercer and Deb. and Jane shall go with her, which I the rather do for the entertaining my wife, and preventing of fallings out between her and my father or Deb. To Mrs. Martin's, and here I was mightily taken with a starling which she hath,

that was the King's, which he kept in his bedchamber; and do whistle and talk the most and best that ever I heard anything in my life. Spent the evening talking with W. Hewer about business of the House, and declaring my expectation of all our being turned out.

2nd. Mr. Moore was with me, and do tell me, and so W. Hewer tells me, he hears this morning that all the town is full of the discourse that the officers of the Navy shall be all turned out, but honest Sir John Minnes, who, God knows, is fitter to have been turned out himself than any of us, doing the King more hurt by his dotage and folly than all the rest can do by their knavery, if they had a mind to it. This day I have the news that my sister was married on Thursday last to Mr. Jackson; so that work is, I hope, well over.

3rd. Up betimes to work again, and then met at the office, where to our great business of this answer to the Parliament; where, to my great vexation, I find my Lord Brouncker prepared only to excuse himself, while I, that have least reason to trouble myself, am preparing with great pains to defend them all: and more, I perceive, he would lodge the beginning of discharging ships by ticket upon me; but I care not, for I believe I shall get more honour by it when the Parliament, against my will, shall see how the whole business of the office was done by me.

I with my clerks to dinner, and thence presently down with Lord Brouncker, W. Pen, T. Harvey, T. Middleton, and Mr. Tippetts, who first took his place this day at the table as a Commissioner, in the room of Commissioner Pett. Down by water to Deptford, where the King, Queen, and Court are to see launched the new ship built by Mr. Shish, called *The Charles*. God send her better luck than the former! Here some of our brethren, who went in a boat a little before my boat, did by appointment take opportunity of asking the King's leave that we might make full use of the want of money, in our excuse to the Parliament for the business of tickets, and other things they will lay to our charge, all which arise from nothing else: and this the King did readily agree to, and did give us leave to make our full use of it. The ship being well launched, I back again by boat.

4th. Vexed and sickish to bed, and there slept about three hours and then waked, and never in so much trouble in all my life of mind, thinking of the task I have upon me, and upon what dissatisfactory grounds, and what the issue of it may be to me.

5th. With these thoughts I lay troubling myself till six o'clock, restless, and at last getting my wife to talk to me to comfort me, which she at last did, and made me resolve to quit my hands of this office, and endure the trouble no longer than I can clear myself of it. So with great trouble, but yet with some ease from the

discourse with my wife, I up and at my office, whither come my clerks, and I did huddle the best I could some more notes for my discourse to-day, and by nine o'clock was ready, and did go down to the "Old Swan," and there by boat, with T. Harvey and W. Hewer with me to Westminster, where I find myself come time enough, and my brethren all ready. But I full of thoughts and trouble touching the issue of this day; and to comfort myself, did go to the "Dog" and drink half-a-pint of mulled sack, and in the Hall [Westminster] did drink a dram of brandy at Mrs. Hewlett's; and with the warmth of this did find myself in better order as to courage, truly. So we all up to the lobby; and between eleven or twelve o'clock were called in with the mace before us into the House, where a mighty full House; and we stood at the bar, namely, Brouncker, Sir J. Minnes, Sir T. Harvey, and myself, W. Pen being in the House as a Member. I perceive the whole House was full of expectation of our defence what it would be, and with great prejudice. After the Speaker had told us the dissatisfaction of the House, and read the Report of the Committee, I began our defence most acceptably and smoothly, and continued at it without any hesitation or loss, but with full scope, and all my reason free about me, as if it had been at my own table, from that time till past three in the afternoon, and so ended, without any interruption from the Speaker; but we

withdrew. And there all my fellow-officers, and all the world that was within hearing, did congratulate me, and cry up my speech as the best thing they ever heard: and my fellow-officers were overjoyed in it; and we were called in again by-and-by to answer only one question, touching our paying tickets to ticket-mongers, and so out; and we were in hopes to have had a vote this day in our favour, and so the generality of the House was; but my speech being so long, many had gone out to dinner and come in again half drunk; and then there are two or three that are professed enemies to us and everybody else; among others, Sir T. Littleton, Sir Thomas Lee, Mr. Wiles, the coxcomb whom I saw heretofore at the cock-fighting, and few others; I say, these did rise up and speak against the coming to a vote now, the House not being full by reason of several being at dinner, but most because that the House was to attend the King this afternoon about the business of religion, wherein they pray him to put in force all the laws against Nonconformists and Papists; and this prevented it, so that they put it off to to-morrow come se'nnight. However, it is plain we have got great ground; and everybody says I have got the most honour that any could have had opportunity of getting; and so our hearts mightily overjoyed at this success. We all to dinner to my Lord Brouncker's—that is to say, myself, T. Harvey, and W. Pen, and there



dined; and thence to Sir Anthony Morgan, who is an acquaintance of Brouncker's, a very wise man, we after dinner to the King's house, and there saw part of *The Discontented Colonel*. To my wife, whom W. Hewer had told of my success and she overjoyed; and, after talking awhile, I betimes to bed, having had no quiet rest a good while.

6th. Up betimes, and with Sir D. Gauden to Sir W. Coventry's chamber, where the first words he said to me was, "Good-morrow, Mr. Pepys, that must be speaker of the Parliament House:" and did protest I had got honour for ever in Parliament. He said that his brother, that sat by him, admires me; and another gentleman said that I could not get less than £1,000 a year if I would put on a gown and plead at the Chancery bar; but, what pleases me most, he tells me that the Solicitor-General did protest that he thought I spoke the best of any man in England. After several talks with him alone touching his own businesses, he carried me to Whitehall, and there parted; and I to the Duke of York's lodgings, and find him going to the Park, it being a very fine morning, and I after him; and as soon as he saw me, he told me, with great satisfaction, that I had converted a great many yesterday, and did, with great praise of me, go on with the discourse with me. And, by-and-by, overtaking the King, the King and Duke of York came to me both; and he said, "Mr. Pepys, I am very glad of your success yesterday;"

and fell to talk of my well-speaking, and many of the Lords there. My Lord Barkeley did cry me up for what they had heard of it, and others, Parliament-men there, about the King, did say that they never heard such a speech in their lives delivered in that manner. Progers, of the Bedchamber, swore to me afterwards before Brouncker, in the afternoon, that he did tell the King that he thought I might match the Solicitor-General. Everybody that saw me almost came to me, as Joseph Williamson and others, with such eulogies as cannot be expressed. From thence I went to Westminster Hall, where I met Mr. G. Montagu, who came to me and kissed me, and told me that he had often heretofore kissed my hands, but now he would kiss my lips: protesting that I was another Cicero, and said all the world said the same of me. Mr. Ashburnham, and every creature I met there of the Parliament, or that knew anything of the Parliament's actings, did salute me with this honour: Mr. Godolphin, Mr. Sands, who swore he would go twenty miles at any time to hear the like again, and that he never saw so many sit four hours together to hear any man in his life as there did to hear me; Mr. Chichly, Sir John Duncomb, and everybody do say that the kingdom will ring of my abilities, and that I have done myself right for my whole life: and so Captain Cocke, and others of my friends, say that no man had ever such an opportunity of making his abilities known; and, that I may cite all

at once. Mr. Lieutenant of the Tower did tell me that Mr. Vaughan did protest to him, and that in his hearing, he said so to the Duke of Albemarle, and afterwards to Sir W. Coventry, that he had sat twenty-six years in Parliament and never heard such a speech there before: for which the Lord God make me thankful! and that I may make use of it not to pride and vain-glory, but that now I have this esteem, I may do nothing that may lessen it! I spent the morning thus walking in the Hall, being complimented by everybody with admiration: and at noon stepped into the "Legg" with Sir William Warren, who was in the Hall, and there talked about a little of his business, and thence into the Hall a little more, and so with him by coach as far as the Temple almost, and there light to follow my Lord Brouncker's coach, which I spied, and so to Madam Williams's, where I overtook him, and agreed upon meeting this afternoon. To Whitehall to wait on the Duke of York, where he again and all the company magnified me, and several in the gallery: among others, my Lord Gerard, who never knew me before nor spoke to me, desires his being better acquainted with me; and [said] that, at table where he was, he never heard so much said of any man as of me in his whole life. So waited on the Duke of York and thence into the gallery, where the House of Lords waited the King's coming out of the Park, which he did by-and-by;

and there, in the Vane-room, my Lord Keeper delivered a message to the King, the Lords being about him, wherein the barons of England, from many good arguments very well expressed in the part he read out of, do demand precedence in England of all noblemen of either of the King's other two kingdoms, be their title what it will; and did show that they were in England reputed but as Commoners, and sat in the House of Commons, and at conferences with the Lords did stand bare. It was mighty worth my hearing: but the King did only say that he would consider of it, and so dismissed them. Thence with the Lieutenant of the Tower in his coach home; and there with great pleasure, with my wife, talking and playing at cards a little—she, and I, and W. Hewer, and Deb.

7th. Mercer, my wife, Deb., and I to the King's playhouse, and there saw *The Spanish Gipsies*, the second time of acting, and the first I saw it. A very silly play, only great variety of dances, and those most excellently done, especially one part by one Hanes, only lately come thither from the Nursery, an understanding fellow, but yet, they say, hath spent £1,000 a year before he come thither. This day my wife and I full of thoughts about Mrs. Pierce's sending me word that she, and my old company, Harris and Knipp, would come and dine with us next Wednesday, how we should do—to receive or put them off, my

head being at this time so full of business, and my wife in no mind to have them neither, and yet I desire it.

Sat. (Lord's day.) To Whitehall, where met with very many people still that did congratulate my speech the other day in the House of Commons, and I find all the world almost rings of it. With Sir W. Coventry, who I find full of care in his own business, how to defend himself against those that have a mind to choke him: and though, I believe, not for honour and for the keeping his employment, but for safety and reputation's sake, is desirous to preserve himself free from blame. He desires me to get information against Captain Tatnell, thereby to diminish his testimony, who, it seems, hath a mind to do W. Coventry hurt; and I will do it with all my heart, for Tatnell is a very rogue. He would be glad, too, that I could find anything proper for his taking notice against Sir F. Hollis. To dinner with Sir G. Carteret to Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, where I find mighty deal of company—a solemn day for some of his and her friends, and dine in the great dining-room above stairs, where Sir G. Carteret himself, and I, and his son, at a little table, the great table being full of strangers. Here my Lady Jem. do promise to come, and bring my Lord Hinchinbroke and his lady some day this week to dinner to me, which I am glad of. After dinner, I up with her husband, Sir Philip Carteret, to his closet, where, beyond expecta-

tion, I do find many pretty things wherein he appears to be ingenious, such as in painting, and drawing, and making of watches, and such kind of things above my expectation; though, when all is done he is a sneak, who owns his owing me £10 for his lady two or three years ago, and yet cannot provide to pay me.

9th. By coach to Whitehall, and there met Lord Brouncker: and he and I to the Commissioners of the Treasury, where I find them mighty kind to me, more, I think, than was wont. And here I also met Colvill, the goldsmith, who tells me, with great joy, how the world upon the 'Change talks of me; and how several Parliament-men, viz., Boscawen, and Major (Lionel) Walden, of Huntingdon, who, it seems, do deal with him, do say how bravely I did speak, and that the House was ready to have given me thanks for it; but that, I think, is a vanity.

10th. Met Sir R. Brookes, who do mightily cry up my speech the other day, saying my fellow-officers are obliged to me, as indeed they are. With Sir D. Gauden homewards, calling at Lincoln's-Inn-Fields: but my Lady Jemimah was not within: and so to Newgate, where he stopped to give directions to the jailor about a knight, one Sir Thomas Halford, brought in yesterday for killing one Colonel Temple, falling out at a tavern. Home; and there comes Mr. Moore to me, who tells me that he fears my Lord Sandwich will meet with very great difficulties to go through about

the prizes, it being found that he did give orders for more than the King's letter do justify; and then for the Act of Resumption, which he fears will go on, and is designed only to do him hurt, which troubles me much. He tells me he believes the Parliament will not be brought to do anything in matters of religion, but will adhere to the Bishops. To supper, where I find W. Joyce and Harman come to see us, and there was also Mrs. Mercer and her two daughters, and here we were as merry as that fellow Joyce could make us with his mad talking, after the old wont, which tired me. But I was mightily pleased with his singing; for the rogue hath a very good ear and a good voice. Here he stayed till he was almost drunk, and then away at about ten at night, and then all broke up.

11th. Meeting Mr. Colvill, I walked with him to his building, where he is building a fine house, where he formerly lived in Lombard Street: and it will be a very fine street. So to Westminster, and there walked, till by-and-by, comes Sir W. Coventry, and with him Mr. Chichly and Mr. Andrew Newport. I to dinner with them to Mr. Chichly's, in Queen Street, in Covent Garden. A very fine house, and a man that lives in mighty great fashion, with all things in a most extraordinary manner noble and rich about him, and eats in the French fashion all; and mighty nobly served with his servants, and very civilly, that I was mightily pleased with it: and good discourse. He is a great

defender of the Church of England, and against the Act of Comprehension, which is the work of this day, about which the House is like to sit till night. After dinner with them to Westminster. About four o'clock the House rises, and hath put off the debate to this day month. In the meantime the King hath put out his proclamations this day, as the House desired, for the putting in execution the Act against Nonconformists and Papists. Here I met with Roger Pepys, who is come to town, and hath been told of my performance before the House the other day, and is mighty proud of it. Captain Cocke met me here, and told me that the Speaker says he never heard such a defence made in all his life in the House; and that the Solicitor-General do commend me even to envy. I carried cousin Roger as far as the Strand, where, spying out of the coach Colonel Charles George Cocke, formerly a very great man, and my father's customer, whom I have carried clothes to, but now walk like a poor sorry sneak, he stopped, and I 'light to him. This man knew me, which I would have willingly avoided, so much pride I had, he being a man of mighty height and authority in his time, but now signifies nothing.

12th. To Gresham College, there to show myself, and was there greeted by Br. Wilkins, Whistler, and others, as the patron of the Navy Office, and one that got great fame by my late speech to the Parliament. Then home to supper, and to talk with Mr. Pelling,



who tells me what a fame I have in the City by my late performance; and upon the whole I bless God for it. I think I have, if I can keep it, done myself a great deal of repute. So by-and-by to bed.

13th. To fit myself for attending the Parliament again, not to make any more speech, which, while my fame is good I will avoid for fear of losing it, but only to answer to what objections will be made against us. Roger Pepys took me aside and told me how he was taken up by one of the House yesterday, for moving for going on with the King's supply of money, without regard to the keeping pace therewith, with the looking into miscarriages, and was told by this man privately that it did arise because he had a kinsman concerned therein; and therefore he would prefer the safety of his kinsman to the good of the nation. But I did bid him be at no pain for me; for I knew of nothing but what I was very well prepared to answer; and so I think I am. At noon, all of us to Chatelin's, the French house in Covent Garden, to dinner—Brouncker, J. Minnes, W. Pen, T. Harvey, and myself: and there had a dinner cost us 8s. 6d. a-piece, a base dinner, which did not please us at all. My head being full of to-morrow's dinner, I to my Lord Crewe's, there to invite Sir Thomas Crewe; and there met with my Lord Hinchingbroke and his lady, the first time I spoke to her. I saluted her, and she mighty civil: and with my Lady Jemimah, do all resolve to be very

merry to-morrow at my house. My Lady Hinchinbroke I cannot say is a beauty, nor ugly; but is altogether a comely lady enough, and seems very good-humoured. Thence home, and there find one laying of my rapkins against to-morrow in figures of all sorts, which is mighty pretty; and it seems, it is his trade, and he gets much money by it: and do now and then furnish tables with plate and linen for a feast at so much, which is mighty pretty, and a trade I could not have thought of. To Mrs. Turner, and did get her to go along with me to the French pewterer's, and there did buy some new pewter against to-morrow; and thence to Whitehall to have got a cook of her acquaintance, the best in England, as she says. But after we had with much ado found him, he could not come, nor was Mr. Gentleman in town, whom next I would have had, nor would Mrs. Stone let her man Lewis come, whom this man recommended to me; so that I was at a mighty loss what in the world to do for a cook, Philips being out of town. Therefore, after staying here at Westminster a great while, we back to London, and there to Philips's, and his man directed us to Mr. Levett's, who could not come, and he sent to two more, and they could not; so that, at last, Levett as a great kindness did resolve he would leave his business and come himself, which set me in great case in my mind.

14th. Up very betimes and with Jane to Levett's,

there to conclude upon our dinner; and thence to the pewterer's to buy a pewter cistern, which I have ever hitherto been without. Anon comes my company, viz. my Lord Hinchingbroke and lady, Sir Philip Carteret and his Lady, Godolphin and my cousin Roger, and Creed: and mighty merry; and by-and-by to dinner, which was very good and plentiful: and I should have said, and Mr. George Montagu, who came at a very little warning, which was exceeding kind of him. And there, among other things, my Lord had Sir Samuel Morland's late invention for casting up of sums of £ s. d., which is very pretty, but not very useful. Most of our discourse was of my Lord Sandwich and his family, as being all of us of the family; and with extraordinary pleasure all the afternoon, thus together eating and looking over my closet: and my Lady Hinchingbroke I find a very sweet-natured and well-disposed lady, a lover of books and pictures, and of good understanding. About five o'clock they went; and then my wife and I abroad by coach into Moorfields, only for a little air. This day I had the welcome news of our prize being come safe from Holland, so as I shall have hopes, I hope, of getting my money of my Lady Batten, or a good part of it.

15th. (Lord's day.) Walked with Sir W. Coventry into the Park, and there met the King and the Duke of York, and walked a good while with them: and here met Sir Jer. Smith, who tells me he is likely

to get the better of Holmes, and that when he is come to an end of that, he will do Hollis's business for him in the House, for his blasphemies, which I shall be glad of. So to Whitehall, and there walked with this man and that man till chapel done, and the King dined: and then Sir Thomas Clifford, the Comptroller, took me with him to dinner to his lodgings, where my Lord Arlington and a great deal of good and great company; where I very civilly used by them, and had a most excellent dinner, and good discourse of Spain, Mr. Godolphin being there, particularly of the removal of the bodies of all the dead Kings of Spain that could be got together, and brought to the Pantheon at the Escorial, when it was finished, and there placed before the altar, there to lie for ever: and there was a sermon made to them upon this text, "*Arida ossa, audite verbum Dei*;" and a most excellent sermon, as they say.

16th. To Westminster by water with Mr. Hater, and there, in the Hall, did walk all the morning, talking with one or other, expecting to have our business in the House; but did now a third time wait to no purpose, they being all this morning upon the business of Barker's petition about the making void the Act of Settlement in Ireland, which makes a great deal of hot work: and at last, finding by all men's opinion they could not come to our matter to-day, I

with Sir W. Pen home, and there to dinner, where I find, by Willett's crying, that her mistress had been angry with her; but I would take no notice of it.

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